THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XIII APRIL, 1934 No. 4

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The Role of the Socialist Party Leaders in the Struggle Against War and Fascism

By EARL BROWDER

ANOTHER chapter in the history of the struggle for a united front against war and fascism has now been finished, from which definite conclusions can be established regarding the role of the Socialist Party leaders on the basis of our concrete experiences in the United States.

The incident which marks the end of this chapter is the withdrawal from the National Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism of the last of those national figures of the Socialist Party who had been formally on record for the united front and who had become known as "left" representatives through their activities in the American League. The history of the experiences since the United Front Manifesto of last spring, issued by the Communist Party, constitutes a most serious political lesson for the American working class. It is necessary, therefore, to review systematically the whole chain of events of this period.

The United Front Manifesto of the Communist Party created tremendous interest and support among broad circles and especially among the working class members of the Socialist Party. This began to crystallize itself around the Provisional Committee which had been established to organize a general United States Congress Against War to which were invited all working class and anti-war organizations. This Committee from the beginning was unconditionally supported by the Communist Party and at all times represented in its composition a majority of non-Communist elements. It was the broadest united front that has been developed in the United States in the post-war period. Its appeal became so great that finally the Socialist Party National Committee considered it necessary to take a stand and conduct maneuvers designed to break up this united front.

This maneuver was carried out in the following way: The Socialist Party National Committee decided to adhere to the United States Congress Against War provided satisfactory conditions could be worked out between its representatives and the Arrangements Committee. A conference was held in which the Socialist Party representatives proposed the addition of eleven Socialist leaders to the

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Arrangements Committee and at the same time raised the question of stopping all criticism of one organization by another as a condition for the united front. The Arrangements Committee, on motion of the representative of the Communist Party, accepted the nominations to the committee and declared that the question of criticism would be dealt with by the Arrangements Committee only in relation to the preparations for the Congress, that all questions regarding such preparations should be thrashed out in the Arrangements Committee before public criticisms were made. On its part the Communist Party immediately published a statement of policy, making clear its attitude on these questions to everyone. This statement, published in the *Daily Worker* of July 17, declared:

> "It was the representative of the Communist Party, Comrade Robert Minor, who made the motion which was adopted to accept the eleven nominations of the Socialist Party. Comrade Minor correctly declared that the Communists have no interest in limiting the Congress or its preparatory committees and no desire to establish any organizational control. In the Arrangements Committee neither can there be any question raised which predetermines the decisions of the projected Congress. The calling of the Congress is not yet the establishment of a united front. It is only one step in that direction. The Congress itself, by the program which it will adopt, must furnish the real foundation of the united front in the struggle against war.
>
> "The Organizing Committee for the Anti-War Congress very wisely adopted, from the beginning, the policy that all participating organizations preserve the complete right to agitate and propagandize their own special views on the question of war, and to attempt to win the Congress to their particular proposals. This right, of course, includes that of mutual criticism. . . . If and when the Anti-War Congress now in preparation adopts such a minimum program of struggle against war, the Communist Party declares its readiness to enter into such a united front of struggle for this program. The Communists will loyally fight for this program, together with every organization and every individual who sincerely and honestly performs his part in such a fight. The Communist Party is even prepared to suspend its criticism of other organizations in the united front during the execution of the united actions, provided that the agreed-upon measures of struggle are carried through unhesitatingly and loyally to the end. It reserves the right at all times to expose and denounce every breach of agreement, every sabotage or betrayal of the struggle."

The Communist Party considered this public declaration necessary because we had no confidence that the leaders of the Socialist Party earnestly desired to help build a real united front. Our misgivings were quickly confirmed. Within a few weeks the Socialist Party publicly withdrew its signature to the united front call, as their first act after affiliating to the Committee.

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The Socialist Party explained its withdrawal as being caused by resentment at continued Communist criticism of Socialist policy throughout the world and in the United States, interpreting their entry into the Committee as having given them a guarantee of the cessation of criticism.

Of course no such guarantee had been or could be given. But that this was not their real motive, but merely a convenient excuse, was revealed clearly by the fact that the action of the National Committee in withdrawing from the Anti-War Congress had been taken on the basis of a letter from the New York City Committee of the Socialist Party to the National Committee, which had demanded this action as a question of principle. This letter is a historical document which must not be forgotten. The letter opens with a statement that the writers have learned of the decision to affiliate to the Anti-War Committee by reading the minutes of the National Committee, and then proceeds:

> "Your action has caused considerable misgivings among the members of Local New York, and at the last meeting of its Executive Committee, it was decided to ask the N.E.C. to withdraw from the conference for the reasons stated in this letter. The undersigned committee was elected for the purpose of communicating our opinion to you."

The letter then proceeds to explain that the New York leaders of the Socialist Party are opposed to any united front, whatever the conditions. The letter states bluntly that it is a fixed, a "consistent" policy of all Socialist Parties affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International *not* to join a united front against war, and gives this as the reason for the N.E.C. to try to break up the Anti-War Congress. The letter says:

> "The N.E.C. has evidently not realized that by the proposed participation the Socialist Party of America has placed itself at variance with the L.S.I. The Labor and Socialist International and all affiliated parties have consistently refused to join similar conferences, as, for instance, those at Amsterdam and Paris. . . . Believing, as we do, in solidarity with the International, we are opposed to participating in the proposed conference, even if the conditions laid down by the N.E.C. were strictly lived up to."

It was on the basis of this letter that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party decided to withdraw from the Anti-War Congress.

The Socialist Party leaders had calculated that this maneuver would succeed in breaking up the Congress. They were mistaken. The United States Congress Against War had taken too deep roots

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to be so easily broken up. A few weeks later 2,700 delegates gathered in the Congress from all over the United States, representing the broadest variety of organizations.

CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE REPORT

"Report of the Credential Committee submitted by Delegate Jack Herling: This report covers the delegates registered at this Congress up until 10 A.M. Sunday morning. We have not questioned the right of any delegate to this Congress to be seated.

"Delegates are present at this Congress from 35 states in the United States and from three foreign countries. The total number of delegates at present registered is 2,616, listed under the following general categories:

Anti-War and Peace Org.	178	Communist Party	130
Anti-Fascist Org.	19	Young Communist League	70
Labor Defense and Relief	172	Socialist Party	9
Educational and Cultural	364	Y. P. Socialist League	1
Religious Groups	14	Other Political Parties (Conference for Prog. Labor Action, Comm. Party Opposition, Official Representatives)	18
Language Labor Groups	253		
Fraternal Labor Org.	370		
Trade Unions	450		
Factory Committees	147		
Unemployed Organizations	135	People's Lobby	5
Farmers' Organizations	41	Continental Congress	1
Veterans' Organizations	37	National Guard	1
Women's Organizations	106	Rifle Club	1
Negro Organizations	19	Anti-War Mass Meetings	4
General Youth Org.	129	Miscellaneous	19
Student Groups	79	League of Nations Ass'n	1

In the United States Congress Against War further efforts were made to break up the Congress from within by the Lovestone renegade group. This proved so overwhelmingly unpopular with the mass of Congress delegates that it was quickly defeated and those leaders who had a tendency to rally themselves to such an effort to split the Congress retreated.

The Congress unanimously adopted a manifesto and program for the struggle against war. This manifesto and program was the foundation for a united struggle against war and fascism to which every delegate present in the Congress pledged himself and to secure the endorsement and active collaboration of his organization. It is well that everyone should reread that document as the foundation for judgment as to who has been true to the pledges of this Congress. The document reads as follows:

"*Appeal to the Working Men and Women of America;*
"*To All Victims of War*:

"The black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the world. The peoples must arouse themselves and take immediate action against the

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wars now going on in the Far East and Latin America, against intervention in Cuba, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war.

"After ten years of futility, the World Disarmament Conference is meeting again to perform once more the grim comedy of promises, to screen the actions of the imperialist governments which are preparing more intensively than ever before in history a new war. The Four-Power Pact is already exposed as nothing but a new maneuver for position in the coming war between the imperialist rivals, and an attempt to establish a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The rise of Fascism in Europe and especially in Germany, and the sharpened aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, have brought all the imperialist antagonisms to the breaking point and greatly increased the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The greatest naval race in history is now on among the United States, England and Japan. The British-American antagonism is being fought out in Latin-America already by open war —the so-called local wars being in reality struggles between these imperialist powers. The presence of thirty American warships in Cuban waters is itself an act of war against the Cuban revolution. The collapse of the World Economic Conference revealed only too clearly that the great powers are unable and unwilling to solve the basic international problems by peaceful means and that they will resort to a new imperialist war in an attempt to divert the attention of the masses from their misery and as the only capitalist way out of the crisis.

"The rapid rise of Fascism is closely related to the increasing war danger. Fascism means forced labor, militarization, lower standards of living, and the accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinist incitements as instruments for the 'moral' preparation for war. It sets the people of one country against the people of another, and exploits the internal racial and national groups within each country in order to prevent them from uniting in joint action to solve their common problems.

"The war danger arises inevitably out of the very nature of monopolistic capitalism—the ownership of the means of production by a small capitalist class and the complete domination of government by this class. The imminent war danger is only another expression of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system, which continues its existence only at the cost of intensification of exploitation and oppression of the masses at home and in the colonies, and of struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of markets and sources of raw materials.

"Only in the Soviet Union has this basic cause of war been re-

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moved. There are no classes or groups which can benefit from war or war preparations. Therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament. Serious struggle against war involves rallying all forces around this peace policy and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union.

"The government of the United States in spite of peaceful professions is more aggressively than ever following policies whose only *logical* result is war. The whole program of the Roosevelt administration is permeated by preparedness of war, expressed in the extraordinary military and naval budget, mobilization of industry and manpower, naval concentration in the Pacific Ocean, intervention in Cuba, the continued maintenance of armed forces in China, the loans to Chiang Kai-shek, the initiation of currency and tariff wars —all of which give the lie to the peaceful declarations of the U.S. government.

"Under the guise of public works, the N.R.A. has diverted immense funds from the care of starving millions to the building of a vastly larger navy and to mechanization of the army. The widespread unemployment has been utilized to concentrate young men in so-called reforestation camps, which the War Department is using for trial military mobilizations. The military training of youth in the schools and colleges is being further developed. More and more, national holidays and specially prepared demonstrations are being used to glorify the armed forces and to stimulate the war spirit among the masses. Hundreds of factories are working overtime to produce munitions and basic war materials for shipment to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. A centralized war control of industry, along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917, is being established. As in 1917, it is drawing the upper leadership of many trade unions into active collaboration in the war machine.

"This Congress against war warns the masses against reliance upon the League of Nations and Kellogg Pact as effective instruments of peace. The Congress declares that this illusion becomes particularly dangerous at the present moment, especially when it is put forth as in the recent Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions as a method of combatting the war danger. We can effectively combat war only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the war policies of their own imperialist governments, whether these governments are working individually or through the League of Nations.

"The Congress declares that the basic force in the imperialist

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countries for struggle against the war danger is the working class, organizing around it in close alliance all of the exploited sections of the population, working farmers, intellectuals, the oppressed Negro people and all toiling masses and all organizations and groups which are generally opposed to war on any basis. This anti-war movement allies itself with the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination, and gives full support to their immediate and unconditional independence.

PROGRAM

"The Congress endorses the program of the World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August, 1932. It pledges itself to do all in its power to effect a nation-wide agitation and organization against war preparations and war. To this end we join together in carrying out the following immediate objectives:—

"To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transporting of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.

"To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding National Recovery.

"To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Camps, by a federal system of social insurance paid for by the government and employers.

"To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

"To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

"To oppose all developments leading to Fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called 'democratic' government.

"To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

"To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis,

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have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to fascist and war propaganda.

"To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments.

"To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war; paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

"By virtue of the mandate granted by the thousands of delegates from all sections of this country and groups of the population which bear the burden of imperialist war who, though they differ in political opinions, trade union affiliations, religious beliefs, and the methods of carrying on the struggle against war, are bound together by their desire for peace, and on the strength of its unshakable conviction that the struggle against imperialist war is useful only to the extent to which it effectively interferes with and check-mates imperialist war plans, this Congress calls upon the working class, the ruined and exploited farmers, the oppressed Negro people, the sections of the middle class bankrupted by the crisis, the groups of intellectuals of all occupations, men, women and youth, together, to organize their invincible force in disciplined battalions for the decisive struggle to defeat imperialist war."

From the time of the Congress Against War until February, 1934, serious beginnings were made in establishing a broad foundation of local committees and conferences throughout the country to carry on the daily work of the League and prepare for the Second U.S. Congress Against War. This work included such national actions as the delegation to Washington at the opening of Congress to protest against the war budgets; and a whole series of local and regional conferences including Chicago, San Francisco, Boston and students' conferences involving student bodies of scores of universities and colleges.

During this period, some Socialists actively participated in the work of the central leadership, notably J. B. Matthews, chairman; Francis Henson, one of the two secretaries, and Mary Fox, from the League for Industrial Democracy. The Socialist Party, however, never accepted this situation of their members participating in the united front against war and fascism. They put more and more heavy pressure against these leaders to force them to withdraw.

On February 16, and the days immediately following, these Socialists and two others announced their withdrawal from the active support of the League, declaring as their reason the events in the Madison Square Garden which they declared had been caused by

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the Communists, which made it impossible for them to further cooperate in any organization that included Communists.

It throws a different light upon this action, however, to know that already before this date, the withdrawal had been determined upon by a Socialist Party conference which included some of these leaders. We quote from the minutes of the City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meeting of January 24, which received a report of its sub-committee which had been set up to determine the duties of Socialist Party members in the L.I.D. and other "independent" organizations. This sub-committee had acted in meetings on December 21, 1933, and January 4, 1934, with the participation among others of Mary Fox, Monroe Sweetland, David Lasser, Joseph Lash and Jack Herling, who occupied leading posts in the American League Against War and Fascism. Among other questions discussed was that of "entrance into united front arrangements with Communists by Socialist Party members through L.I.D. activity contrary to the policies of the Socialist Party". The aim of the committee was declared to be "to arrive at a statement of policy governing future conduct". The conclusion of the committee was that "Party members should work and fight in their independent organizations against the united front with Communists when the Party does not consider the Communists' action genuine and sincere, but quite on the contrary, harmful and aimed to destroy the entire Socialist movement."

It was in carrying out this decision that the Socialist Party leaders later thought that they had found an appropriate excuse in the incidents at the Madison Square Garden.

The American League Against War and Fascism, confronted with the desertion from its national leadership by the Socialist Party members, was forced to take a position and evaluate the effects of these desertions. This was done in a statement signed on behalf of the League by Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union, Annie E. Gray of the Women's Peace Society, and Earl Browder for the Communist Party. This statement reads as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

"The Bureau of the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism has before it the resignations of certain of its members connected with the League for Industrial Democracy. At the same time the Chairman of the Executive Committee resigns his post without resigning from the League. The reasons brought forward for the resignations center around the occurrence in the Madison Square Garden meeting of February 15.

"The Bureau of the League expresses its deep regret for the development of antagonisms which in any way contribute to widen-

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ing the breach between any groups of sincere opponents to war and fascism. All such divisions bring joy to the war-makers and fascists. All of the efforts of the League have been to bridge existing divisions and to bring about united action on the basis of the program adopted in the great U. S. Congress Against War, September 30 and October 1, 1933.

"The League has used its efforts in the past, and will continue in the future, to avoid conflict or disruption among the forces fighting against war and fascism, whether members of the League or not. Agreements have been sought and will be sought, to promote the greatest possible unity and to prevent disunity—while preserving the fullest freedom of all organizations to conduct in their own way their campaigns. The League is not and will not be dominated by one political party. No majority in any committee now does or will represent any political party.

"The Bureau records with satisfaction that, in every case where it has succeeded in initiating a joint action, the result has been the drawing together of hitherto separated forces, thus strengthening the whole struggle against war and fascism. The highly successful conferences following the U.S. Congress Against War that were held in Chicago, San Francisco, Boston and many smaller cities; the series of students' anti-war conferences held in Columbia, New York University and regional conferences involving student groups from scores of universities; the delegation to Washington at the opening of Congress to oppose the war budget; the successful mass demonstrations and parades against Austrian fascism held under the auspices of the League in Chicago and Pittsburgh; these and innumerable smaller instances prove the vitality of the League's progress and the necessity of its work.

"The enthusiastic support that has developed for the magazine *Fight*, published by the League, and its widespread and growing circulation among the most diverse groupings throughout the country, give further evidence of the deep-felt need for precisely this organization.

"The League does not assume the function of passing judgment upon such disputes as that which gave rise to the resignation of a few members of its committee. It must emphatically be stated that no controversies as to tactics constitute a valid reason for abandonment of the program and principles of the League. Now more than ever this program is necessary. The extreme sharpening of the war danger and the rise of fascism throughout the world are putting a severe test upon all avowed enemies of war and fascism. It is to be expected that there will be desertions in this most difficult pre-war period. This is all the more reason why all true fighters against war

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and fascism will steadfastly maintain and promote the principles and program of the League.

"The League urges all its members to stand firm on this position and energetically promote and extend the League organization and build a broader mass circulation for the magazine *Fight Against War and Fascism* and prepare for the second great U.S. Congress Against War, which, as decided last year, will occur in the coming fall. The League sincerely invites those few who have left to reconsider their position and return to their fighting posts. To replace those who remain outside, the League undertakes to bring reinforcements a hundredfold and to build an ever stronger united mass movement of all forces against war and fascism."

In the above statement, it is made clear that the American League Against War and Fascism will proceed with its work more energetically than ever and replace all deserters with additional reinforcements, that it will especially concentrate on building broader mass circulation of the magazine *Fight Against War and Fascism*, and prepare for the second great Congress Against War.

A special problem arose in connection with the position of J. B. Matthews. Matthews had been elected by the Congress to the Executive Committee of the League, which, in turn, had elected him as chairman and member of the Bureau of the Committee. On February 21 Matthews telegraphed from Detroit where he was on a speaking tour that he was "resigning chairmanship American League". Upon his return to New York, when questioned in the office of the League as to the meaning of his telegram, he stated that it "meant nothing more nor less than he said in the telegram." The other officers of the League, after a week's vain efforts to interview Matthews, finally called a meeting of the Bureau, including Matthews, stating in the letter calling this meeting that "this letter is being sent to all members of the Bureau who have not yet resigned". Matthews did not attend this meeting, but sent a letter in which he said, "I had hoped to attend the Bureau meeting this afternoon, but it is absolutely out of the question". He then proceeded to state his opinion that the difficulties confronting the League are "insurmountable" and asked that the further decisions of the Bureau be communicated to him. In this letter, he further declared, "my resignation as chairman meant only what it actually said and concealed no implied judgments beneath the words". It was upon this basis that the League's statement declared that "the Chairman of the Executive Committee resigns his post without resigning from the League". After the issuance of this statement, Matthews wrote a further letter on March 11 which registered his "astonishment" that his communications had been so interpreted and said, "Let us clear up

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any further possible misunderstanding making it final and unequivocal that I bear no relationship of any character whatsoever to the League".

The evolution of Matthews' position may be further understood in the light of certain other facts. For example: he was under charges in the Socialist Party for expulsion on the grounds of his activity in connection with the League; he was called for trial during the period in which these resignations were taking place and used his resignation as a defense against expulsion from the Socialist Party; the Socialist Party thereupon decided not to expel him but to suspend him from membership for one year; thereafter the *New Leader*, the official Socialist organ of New York City, began for the first time in more than a year to advertise Matthews as a speaker before Socialist Party branches; the League for Industrial Democracy sent him on a long speaking trip on its behalf.

Since this latest large-scale concerted effort of the Socialist Party leaders to break up the American League Against War and Fascism, events have already demonstrated that again they have failed. The League is, on the contrary, again moving forward, gaining broader support and serving more than ever as the rallying center for all forces sincerely opposed to fascism and war. In the few weeks that have elapsed we have already witnessed a broad conference in New Jersey which voted overwhelmingly to affiliate with the League. At the Student Conference Against War and Fascism in Columbia University, the forces of the Socialist Party and L.I.D. made a determined and bitter assault against the League, trying to prevent the conference from affiliating, but without success. By an overwhelming vote the conference confirmed its affiliation and adopted a program fully in harmony with that of the League Against War and Fascism. The Chicago committee, elected by a broad conference in that city some months ago, has endorsed the statement of the Bureau regarding the resignations. New forces of considerable significance which had hitherto not been drawn into the work of the League, have declared their adherence and taken over direct responsibilities for its work.

In these experiences of the past year in the effort to build a broad united front against war and fascism, we have classical examples of the role of the Socialist Party leadership in its relation to the question of working class unity. These events have taken place at a moment of the extreme sharpening of the war danger. At every stage of development of this movement against fascism and war, the Socialist Party had only one determining aim in mind. That was to prevent at all costs the collaboration of the Communists in this movement—that is, to prevent the unification of all forces against fascism and

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war. It was ready to break, not only with the Communists, but with the large majority of non-Communist organizations and individuals in this movement rather than be associated with a movement that included Communists. Such intransigeance on organization questions, is of course, only the cover for the Socialist Party opposition to the program of struggle laid down. They fight against the League because the League has a clear platform of struggle against war and fascism. They think that if they can exclude the Communists from the League they will have a chance to break the remaining elements away from this program of struggle and lead it towards collaboration with the Roosevelt administration and the New Deal policies leading to war and fascism, a collaboration which the Socialist Party is developing more and more clearly with every new development of the crisis.

The record of these experiences therefore becomes an essential part of the experience of the entire working class in the United States, gives the basis for a correct evaluation of the Socialist Party leadership and its self-assumed role of fighter against the united front of all sincere enemies of war and fascism.

This record should be preserved for the education and information of all new rising forces of leadership organized in this broad mass movement against war and fascism.

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Lessons of the Austrian Revolt

By V. J. JEROME

(*Continued from the March issue.*)

THE terrorist offensive of the Dollfuss-Fascist regime was answered by the heroic February revolt of the Austrian working class.

The revolt scattered to the winds the false prophecies of the Menshevist seers regarding a new epoch in the life of capitalism—the "epoch of fascism". In contradiction to the Leninist teaching that imperialism is the last epoch of capitalism, the stage of capitalist decay and of proletarian revolution, these helpmates of imperialism have utilized Hitler's accession to power as a signal for inventing a new capitalist epoch, thereby denying the moribund stage of contemporary capitalism and attributing to the bourgeois order the power of extending its life through countless "epochs".

Social-democracy's life-extension policy for the capitalist system is endorsed by the miserable renegades from Communism.

Together with the Second International, the renegades deny that the growth of fascism is but an indication of the growing revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world; that in resorting to open terrorist dictatorship the bourgeoisie is making a desperate stand against the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses; that fascism, far from composing, aggravates most acutely the contradictions of capitalism, hastening the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order.*

The menshevik effort, supported by the renegades, to create among the working class a mood of despair, to present the revolutionary struggle as being in recession and fascism as marking a new

* Trotsky, for example, points, in support of his prospect of protracted fascism in Germany, to the plebiscite which gave Hitler 43,000,000 votes as against 3,000,000 votes of opposition. Brazenly discounting the fact that the terror-ridden elections were a travesty unheard of in history, that even the bourgeois press encircled the word *elections* in quotation marks, and that those who voted in the opposition literally took their lives in their hands, Trotsky attempts to make use of the plebiscite as proof that Hitlerism has come to stay (*Unser Wort*, Paris, Feb. 1, 1934). In like manner, he assumes as a parallel the length of fascist dictatorship in Italy (*Ibid.*)—a parallel that is utterly inapplicable, since, as the E.C.C.I. pointed out in its Thirteenth Plenum Thesis, Mussolini came to power during the transition of the post-war revolutionary crisis to relative stabilization of the capitalist world, while today the transition is from the end of stabilization to a new revolutionary crisis.

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capitalist epoch, is but the way in which social-fascism attempts to weaken the proletarian advance to the revolutionary counter-offensive against the fascist drive and the imperialist war preparations.*

The Austrian revolt bore out the correctness of the prediction made by Comrade Stalin, in his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. On the 26th of January, seventeen days before the Austrian revolt, Comrade Stalin had declared:

> "But if the bourgeoisie chooses the path of war, then the working class in the capitalist countries who have been reduced to despair by four years of crisis and unemployment takes the path of revolution. That means that a revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature. And the more the bourgeoisie becomes entangled in its war combinations, the more frequently it resorts to terroristic methods in the struggle against the working class and the toiling peasantry, the sooner will the revolutionary crisis mature."

The Austrian workers took the path of revolution—and their guns dealt death to Austro-Marxism.

For years the specific brand of social-democracy known as Austro-Marxism has been fondled among the socialist parties as a favorite child in the family of the Second International. With the manifest bankruptcy of world social-democracy, with the Leftward movement of the toiling masses, and with the continuing successful construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, what could come to hand more opportunely than this Left-toned clan in the social-democratic tribe? Here, at least, was a party that the Second International could point to as the "better kind", as proof that social-democracy can be "revolutionary". The Noskes and the Welses, you say, are reactionary? Ah, but the Bauers and the Renners—they are different! They, you must grant, are Left social-democrats. Don't they declare themselves for the class struggle, for revolution, and even for the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat? And so, dear friends, since social-democracy can be so "revolutionary", surely there is no need to turn to Bolshevism!

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* A notorious instance of such counter-revolutionary strivings is the case of the renegade, Joseph Guttmann, former chief editor of *Rude Pravo*, who was recently expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This renegade, endeavoring to cover his petty-bourgeois faltering and cowardice, having lost faith in the might of the proletariat to strike the blow for the destruction of fascism and the achievement of Soviet power under the leadership of the Communist Party, joined in the social-fascist denunciation of the valiant Communist Party of Germany in efforts to undermine the strength of the revolutionary vanguard.

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Even now, with the complete bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism, with the harvest of fascism reaped by its treacherous policy, Otto Bauer can still find it possible to declare (in his most recent pamphlet, written in Prague immediately after the February revolt)* that his party has all along adopted a course different to "the almost reactionary bourgeois socialism of Germany".

Far be it from us to quarrel (except for the qualifying word *almost*) with this characterization of German social-democracy: it is a leaf from our book. Let us examine, however, the validity of Austro-Marxism's claim to differentiation from the bourgeois socialism of its German brother party. Certainly, if such a differentiation existed, one would expect to find it in regard to the basic tenet in the program of the working class—the principle of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. By its acceptance or denial, in theory and in practice, of this central programmatic principle, a party proves itself either revolutionary or reformist, either bent on achieving socialism or preventing it.

Let us glance at the "Leftness" of Austro-Marxism.

An instance—one of a thousand such—that can serve as an acid test, suggests itself in connection with the recent appearance of Kautsky's article "Democracy and Dictatorship" in the theoretical organ of Austro-Marxism, *Der Kampf*.

The leading theoretician of international social-democracy, the custodian of "Marxism", had this to say regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat:

> "It is not the deep digging of the dictatorship in Russia, but its further existence which constitutes a great menace and is unfavorable to the liberation struggle conducted at present by the proletariat."**

This vicious attack upon the Soviet Union and the complete denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat summed themselves up in the most abject acceptance of bourgeois democracy—to the point of declaring it to be *a part of socialism!*

> "Democracy is not only the *road* which leads us to the Socialist goal, but is also *a part of the goal itself*, given that the goal is not only the welfare, but also the equality and liberty of all. . . . ***
>
> "Democracy is indissolubly tied to Socialism as the way leading to the goal, and as an element of the final goal." ****

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* Extracts from the pamphlet appeared in the *New York Times* of March 8, 1934.

** *Der Kampf*, 1933, fascicle 2, p. 58.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 45.

**** *Ibid.*, p. 47.

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So downright counter-revolutionary and openly anti-Marxist was the tone of this article, that the editors of the organ, which takes on airs of revolutionary Marxism, were plainly embarrassed. Having offered the columns of their "Marxist" organ to undisguised counter-revolution, they now proceeded, with a "Leftward" posture, to manifest their Austro-Marxism. The article was accompanied with an editorial note and with the publication of pertinent correspondence between Kautsky and the editor-in-chief, Friedrich Adler.

Austro-Marxism has always prided itself on having a historic role to play—that of Center between the Third International and the Second; the golden mean between the "naive impatience and the skeptical lack of faith", as the same Friedrich Adler formulated the theory that was to guide the Two-and-a-Half International set up in Vienna in 1921. With that genial middle-of-the-road "breadth of mind" which has always distinguished Austro-Marxism, the editor of *Der Kampf* made his reply:

> "1. The Bolsheviks must admit that the democratic way to Socialism, at least in certain countries (Scandinavia, for example), is not excluded.
>
> "2. The Socialists must admit that the possibility for Soviet Russia to attain Socialism on the basis of the present situation, without a return to private capitalism, is not excluded." *

The perfect liberal! Lenin is right and Kautsky is right. So does Austro-Marxism show its unbounded tolerance: it will walk to socialism along two roads. Marxism-Leninism declares "that the class struggle *necessarily* leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat" (italics mine—V.J.J.),** that "a Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*";*** Austro-Marxism speaks of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a "possibility". Marxism-Leninism declares: bourgeois democracy and Socialism are mutually exclusive; Austro-Marxism declares that they are mutually inclusive. Wherein then is the difference between Adler's and Kautsky's social-democracy? The Austro-Marxists answer: We admit also the dictatorship of the proletariat as a possible road.

The base deceitfulness behind this professed support of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be exposed by the question: Which of the "two roads" has Austro-Marxism chosen?

Austro-Marxism is a section of the Second International, an

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* *Der Kampf*, 1933, No. 2.

** Marx, *Letter to Weydemeyer*, March 5, 1852.

*** Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, International Publishers, p. 30.

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organic part of world social-democracy, without whose direct support the bourgeoisie cannot set up its fascist dictatorship.

How shall we explain the fact that the Two-and-a-Half International which set out upon its career with disdainful utterances against the social-traitors, with the intransigeant announcement by Friedrich Adler "that with the Second International there can be no negotiations"—how shall we explain the fact that in May, 1923, this Vienna International united with the Second International at the historic unity congress at Hamburg? How shall we explain this fact except by exposing the "Leftness" of Two-and-a-Half Internationalism as "Left" maneuvering in the cause of the Right?

The temporary "secession" of the Centrist groups from the openly reformist Second International was not a schism on issues of principle, but a "Left" stratagem rendered necessary by the Leftward movement of the toiling masses in the post-war period of revolutionary crisis. To maintain their hold on the masses who were incensed against the consistent traitor-policy of the Second International and who were pressing forward in the direction of the Comintern, many social-democratic leaders resorted to coquetting with revolutionary phrases; to speaking of world revolution, of defending the Soviet Union, of supporting the revolutionary movement in the colonies; some going so far as to make platonic declarations in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat—as was the case with Ramsay MacDonald, then leader of the Independent Labor Party, one of the component parties of the Two-and-a-Half International. But the exit of the Centrist Parties from the Second International was not followed by their entrance into the Third. Despite the pressure of the rank and file for affiliation with the Communist International, their leaders, in the main, blocked the path with a deliberate policy of temporizing, with raising every manner of obstacle, with proposals for liquidating the Comintern and merging it with the Second International.

How clearly Lenin saw the future imperialist premier in the "Left"-mannered MacDonald, to have written concerning him in 1919:

> "A split from such people is necessary and inevitable, because it is impossible to bring about the Socialist revolution hand in hand with those who are pulling on the side of the bourgeoisie."

By 1923, when the capitalist world was experiencing relative stabilization, when the revolutionary crisis had temporarily receded, the Austro-Marxist Two-and-a-Half International gave full manifestation of its historic role. Having diverted its rank and file with revolutionary phrases from advancing towards the Communist In-

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ternational, it now led them back, when the moment was opportune, by a "Leftward" route, to the camp of the Second International.

How aptly the theory of Austro-Marxism matches its practice! Recently the leader of Austrian social-democracy, Otto Bauer, declared:

> "In Austria, more than in almost any other country, there is the prospect that State power will be won by the working class along the road of democracy. If but the proletariat here will understand merely how to make use of their legal opportunities, then very soon the bourgeoisie will begin to shout, as Odilion Barrot did in 1849: 'La legalite nous tue!' [Legality is killing us!]
>
> "If at the same time our soldiers, our gendarmes, our schutzbund is defending republican legislation, then the bourgeoisie will be unable to smash this legislation, since the legal measures of the election address place the legal powers in our hands."

Very true, Herr Bauer, legality has killed us! But it is not Odilion Barrot, not Engelbert Dollfuss—but the workers of Austria who cry out these words!

They whom you subjected for decades to the use of their "legal opportunities"; whom you allowed to be systematically disarmed, lest they use their extra-legal opportunities; whom, by your own confession,* you held back in March of last year from responding to the call of the Communist Party for the general strike that would have broken the fascist offensive; whom you betrayed by your advocacy of the use of "legal opportunities" of accepting fascist decree after decree. They whom you urged to retreat before the government's attacks upon their living conditions, whom you instructed to offer no resistance to the destruction of their political rights;—they whom you taught to defend bourgeois republican legislation, the Schutzbund, whose dissolution you permitted without a summons to resistance as a stoic exercise in the use of the legal "opportunities" of obedience to fascism; they whom you tried to chain to the united front with fascism in the black shirt under the pretence of fighting fascism in the brown shirt—it is they who cry "Legality has killed us!" The workers of Austria cry out these words—the workers of Vienna, of Linz, of Graz, of Steyr, they and their wives and their

* *New York Times*, March 8, 1934. The *Daily Worker* of March 14, 1934, published the complete text of a statement by Otto Bauer as it appeared in the *Jewish Daily Forward* of March 10. In that statement, which he devotes to clearing his party of "guilt" in leading the revolt, Bauer makes the following admission: "Even after Sunday, February 12, the representatives of the Party leadership sought to pacify the indignant workers, and sought to hold them back from beginning the struggle. But the anger of the masses had already reached such a high pitch that the warnings of the Party leadership did not help any more."

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children, to whom you gave for protection against the Heimwehr hordes, the "legal measures of the election address", whom you armored against the cannon of Dollfuss with "the republican legislation which the bourgeoisie will be unable to smash"—

The workers you left defenceless, and unprepared, to fight with their backs to the wall, these cry out: *Legality Has Killed Us!*

* * * * *

The lesson of the Austrian revolt is the lesson that the proletarian revolution is the only way out of the capitalist crisis, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is *the only road* to socialism. The February revolt in Austria proclaimed to the workers of the world that only then is the struggle directed against fascism when it is directed against capitalism; that the struggle for the overthrow of fascist power is the struggle for the establishment of workingclass power —the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Socialism.

In rising against the fascist dictatorship, the Austrian workers demonstrated in especial that the proletarian rank and file in the Socialist parties and in the social-democratic trade unions are turning toward the revolutionary way out of the crisis, to the general strike and the armed revolt, to the seizure of power. They demonstrated that the working class can advance upon the road of struggle for emancipation only by clearing it of the obstacle of social-democracy, that only by shattering the main social pillar of the bourgeoisie will the workers be able to destroy the structure of capitalism.

The February days in Austria further demonstrate that outside of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class cannot achieve democracy. The Austrian events demonstrate that "Red Vienna", the "Vienna Commune", which Kautsky hailed in 1927 with the words: "What the Paris Commune desired, the Vienna Commune realized. . . . The Commune Vienna shows us the way along which international socialism will achieve the world"*—was a huge fraud: it was the capital of a bourgeois State, a city of vast unemployment and starvation, ruled by capitalist exploiters from a social-democratic Town Hall.

Masses of social-democratic workers will now realize, when they look at the flourishing Socialist cities of the Soviet Union, the great truth expressed by Lenin:

> "Proletarian democracy is a thousand times more democratic than every bourgeois democracy. Soviet power is a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."

* *Arbeiterzeitung*, May 1, 1927.

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The Austrian revolt holds out to the toiling masses the great lesson that there is no fundamental difference, no contrast in principle, between fascism and bourgeois democracy: the difference is only in the open or veiled form that the bourgeois dictatorship assumes. Against Kautsky's theory of "pure" democracy, against Otto Bauer's declaration that prior to March, 1933, the Austrian bourgeoisie for twelve years had ruled without dictatorships ("It was the rule but not the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie"),* the Austrian events, together with the experiences in Germany, have clearly corroborated the Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. that fascism is "born in the womb of bourgeois democracy" and that by supporting bourgeois democracy as the "lesser evil", social-democracy paves the way for fascism.

The events leading to the February days, the revolt itself, and the period following it, have demonstrated the valiant, revolutionary vanguardship of the underground Austrian Communist Party. Though small in size, the Communist Party of Austria has indefatigably struggled to effect the unification of the Austrian working class in a common front of struggle against fascism and for the achievement of Soviet power. It will be remembered that with the issuance of the very first Dollfuss decrees, the Communist Party of Austria addressed an Open Letter to the Socialist Party proposing a united front for a general strike.** At the time when the Austrian social-democratic leaders, Seitz and Dannenberg, were accepting the proposal of the Clerico-Fascist Kunshak for a united front against the Nazis; when, behind the back of the Austrian working class, Bauer was negotiating with Dollfuss, offering to accept conditionally fascist rule "for two years",*** the Communist Party advanced the fighting slogan: Reply immediately to every blow of the government with a counter-blow! When, following the seizure of the Trade Union, workers' cooperative, and social-democratic, headquarters, the factories of the Vienna suburbs, Liesung and

* "On Democracy", *Der Kampf*, July, 1933.

** See the first installment of this article in *The Communist* for March, 1934, p. 259.

*** In a nauseating apologetic given to the world bourgeoisie, and front-paged in the *New York Times* of February 18, 1934, under the caption, "Dollfuss Spurned Socialists' Aid, Fugitive Party Leader Declares," Otto Bauer stated: "We offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialistic party had ever made. We let Dollfuss know that if he would only pass a bill through Parliament we would accept a measure authorizing the government to govern by decree without Parliament for two years, on two conditions only—that a small Parliamentary committee, in which the government had a majority, should be able to criticize decrees, and that a constitutional court, the only protection against breaches of the Constitution, should be restored. Dollfuss refused."

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Atzgersdorf, went out on strike, the Austrian Communist Party's illegal organ *Rote Fahne* published an immediate call for a general strike, rousing the Austrian working class with the slogans: "Crush fascism before it crushes you! Down tools at once! Strike! Elect Action Committees to lead the struggle in every factory! Out on the streets! Disarm the fascists! The weapons into the hands of the workers! *General Strike!* Immediate dissolution of all fascist organizations! Immediate liberation of all anti-fascist prisoners! *Down with the Hangmen's Government!*"

The call of the Communist Party found a wide echo among the Austrian workers. Misguided for years from the path of revolutionary action by hypocritical Austro-Marxism, the proletarian rank and file in the Austrian social-democratic party has manifested, by its spontaneous revolutionary united-front formations with the Communist workers, that it has broken down the barrier to working class unity set up by the social-democratic leadership. By their armed struggle for power, the Austrian workers, long repressed by Soviet-hating Austro-Marxism, have shown what great inspiration the Soviet Union exerts upon the wide masses everywhere. The February revolt of the Austrian workers has confirmed the declaration made by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.:

> "The chief slogan of the Communist International is: Soviet Power. The example of the U.S.S.R. is the example of Bolshevism. Only this example shows the way out and the way to save the exploited and oppressed in all the imperialist and colonial countries."

If, notwithstanding their magnificent heroism, the Austrian workers did not achieve proletarian power, their setback raises before the workers of the world the Marxist-Leninist guide to action, the teaching that without the revolutionary vanguard, without a strong Communist Party that has won over to its side the majority of the working class, the proletariat cannot wage a successful revolution. This lesson is summed up brilliantly in the teaching of Comrade Stalin:

> "The proletariat has need of the Party as its general staff if the struggle for power is to be crowned with victory. It is plain that without a Party capable of mustering around it the mass organizations of the proletariat and centralizing the management of the movement during the course of the struggle, the Russian proletariat could not have established its revolutionary dictatorship."

Austro-Marxism has manifested its political and ideological bankruptcy. It has revealed itself in its Janus-faced role of Austro-social-fascism. But its danger to the Austrian working class is not

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yet overcome with its colossal exposure. Now that the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship must advance under the slogan of *Soviet Power*, the Austro-social-fascists, like their German brothers-in-treachery, will come forward with the counsel: Back to bourgeois democracy!—such, indeed, is the slogan now advanced by German social-fascism: "Revolution against Hitler, for the restoration of democracy!"

The working class of Austria, of Germany, the workers everywhere, must meet the slogans of the veiled as well as the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the thundering answer: Neither fascist dictatorship nor bourgeois democratic dictatorship—but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat! Only under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party, will the working class, at the head of the toiling masses, march forward victoriously against fascism, against crisis- and war-breeding capitalism, to the proletarian revolution, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Socialism.

In this sense can we apply to the February revolt in Austria the words of Karl Marx: "Sometimes defeats have a greater revolutionary effect than easy victories."

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The Work of Our Party in the Pittsburgh District

(*Pre-Convention Discussion Article.*)

By JACK JOHNSTONE

I.

IT would not be difficult to draw a very good picture of the situation in the Pittsburgh district in comparison to what it was, say a year ago. This, while it would be strictly correct, would leave an impression that everything is going along as it should and that there is nothing to worry about. Our Party has accomplished a great deal in that period and is quite enthusiastic about being able to accomplish a great deal more. However, to use only this yard stick, to draw conclusions only from this method of comparison, would be a serious error and would not contribute very much to the convention discussion. The critical approach must take note of the achievements, but the basic analysis should be: Have we carried out the six-month plan of work? To what extent have we fulfilled the tasks that we set for ourselves in this plan of work?

Such an analysis, made by the district committee, shows that the tasks set were not fulfilled; that the average fulfillment for the district as a whole was only 50 per cent. Some sections, such as the Hill section, show that the quota for Party recruitment was carried through 100 per cent. However, the recruitment of employed miners and steel workers is below the quota set. Every section is behind in the *Daily Worker* drive and in the circulation of party literature. The building of the Y.C.L. is still largely on paper. Only in one or two places, in the Hill, Turtle Creek Valley, and Yukon sections, are any improvements shown. While we have organized a branch of the L.S.N.R. and improved in the work among the Negro masses, the result is still inadequate and extremely unsatisfactory. Every control task set in the six-month plan of work has only been partly carried out. The modest task of recruiting 300 employed steel and mine workers has not been completed. In almost every phase of work there is some improvement; at the same time there are also tremendous weaknesses. The hiding of the Party face goes hand in hand with the weakness in building the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, with the weakness in organizing united front struggles against Fascism and war, etc.

We cannot win leadership over the workers simply because we

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have a correct line, which is, of course, of basic importance; there are other requirements that are equally important—broad, well developed cadres, good organizers, functioning unit bureaus, section and district committees, a collective leadership with a strict enforcement of individual responsibility. Slogans and demands have only a paper, or at best, an abstract agitational value unless we develop corresponding organizations to carry these slogans and demands into concrete practice. Can the workers win unemployment insurance? Yes, but not if the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill merely rests in Congress or if we merely mention it in speeches and resolutions. Unemployment insurance will be achieved only if we build organizations, a broad united front, and if we compel its enactment through organized strength. Can we defeat fascism in this country? Yes! Can we hinder the development of war? Yes, but only if we set up organizations that will draw into the struggle broad working masses. Can we win wage increases, better working conditions? Yes, but only if there are built strong fighting unions, strong rank-and-file groups in the A. F. of L., mill and mine grievance and shop committees.

In the Pittsburgh district, the main concentration is steel, mining and unemployed work. Here I want to deal with mining. In spite of the long fighting tradition of our Party and the National Miners' Union in Western and Central Pennsylvania, the Lewis-Murray-Fagan machine was able to put over the wage-cutting program of the N.R.A. at the recent convention of the U.M.W.A. without any real opposition. Never in the history of the U.M.W.A. since Lewis became president, has the leadership met with so little organized opposition as in the last convention. The majority of the 1,500 delegates were rank-and-file members; the majority of them represented locals demanding struggles for higher wages and for many other demands; yet, the Lewis machine of about 300 to 400 full-time organizers and henchmen were able to steam-roller everything through that they wanted to in one of the shortest conventions ever held. With thousands of resolutions demanding higher wages, the six-hour day and five-day week, not one was brought even before the convention, and the wage-scale committee was given the power to get what wages they could. How was it possible that there was no organized opposition from the Pittsburgh district—from a district where a short time ago, during tremendous strike struggles, the leaders of the U.M.W.A. could not speak at a strike meeting; where in every mining camp large sections of the miners are against these leaders and their policy of surrender?

There is not the slightest excuse for such a situation. Every criticism in the Open Letter is a challenge and a criticism of the district

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leadership. There has been hesitation in bringing forward the Party, in fighting for the Party line among the non-Party miners. There has been slowness in reacting to new conditions, in letting go of old methods and tactics when a change was obvious. There has been opportunist neglect of working in the U.M.W.A. and the necessity of organizing. There has been lack of understanding of the value of the *Daily Worker* and the spreading of Party literature. There has been weakness in the work of the units and unit bureaus, especially at the district point of concentration. There have been undeveloped section committees and section leadership, a concentration plan of work that did not get beyond a paper resolution. It is necessary to learn how to examine the work of the district committee as a whole; but this is inadequate unless the work of the District Organizer and every member of the district committee is examined to see how they carried out their individual responsibility, how they carried out their assigned task.

The preparations for the U.M.W.A. convention were not conducted according to the plan laid down by the district, but rather on the basis that there were so many miners opposed to the sell-out policy of the Lewis administration that all that one had to do was to fly around everywhere, tell the miners to pass resolutions for wage increases, etc., and to elect delegates to fight for them, and then to send someone to Indianapolis and organize this opposition. The optimistic reports that there would be an organized fighting group of delegates at the convention were taken for granted by the district without a proper check-up.

It was possible to have built around the four mines of concentration functioning Party mine units; to have issued a Party mine paper, to have increased the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, Party literature, including the language press; to have organized a delegation around a fighting program for wage increases, youth demands, unemployment insurance, demands against the discrimination of the Negroes, for winning the miners over for a fight against fascism and war, for strengthening the unemployment councils in the struggle for increased relief and for the unemployment insurance bill, for drawing in the wives and daughters of the miners into the struggle, and for winning many of the miners and their families for the line of the Party. This would have organized a strong delegation to the U.M.W.A. convention from the mines of concentration, and, with this basis, a different story could have been told about the result of the convention. This is what is meant by concentration and fighting for the line of the Party. This was not done in mining. It is just idle chatter to talk about building the Y.C.L., if we hesitate about building the Party; and we cannot build the Party if we hesitate in

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bringing forward the line of the Party and to fight for that line among the non-Party workers.

The task that confronts our Party in the mining field is to help and to lead the miners to solve all their problems, to convince the miners that only the Communist Party has the solution to all their problems and not to approach these problems with phrases that are not understood by the miners and often by those who use them. In every mining camp there is unemployment, hunger, misery of an appalling character. On April 1st, the present agreement with the U.M.W.A. and the coal codes expires. In every mining camp there are large sections, in some places a majority, of the miners that are not only against the sell-out program of Lewis and Company, but who are ready to organize and lead strike struggles for their demands on April 1st. Without organization, without leadership, this fighting sentiment is helpless before the well organized Lewis machine. Over a score of mine strikes have taken place in the past six weeks, involving the steel concerns of Bethlehem, Frick, Jones and Laughlin. The task of uniting the miners for struggle is the task of the Party and the quite large group of Party supporters who are not themselves yet organized. These strikes are immediately stifled by the stronger and stronger strangle-hold that the Lewis machine is getting over the local organizations. Yet, in spite of this, the fighting sentiment of the miners is so strong that every strike gains some concessions, even though they are only temporary; but the miners are never allowed to win what they could win if the rank-and-file were organized and put into the leadership of the strikes.

April 1st can become the starting point for tremendous, far-reaching mass strikes in mining, and at the same time the starting point for far-reaching victories for the miners. April 1st can also mark another great betrayal of the miners by Lewis. The sentiment for struggle against Lewis and his N.R.A. program is so great in the Pittsburgh district, that if the Opposition can organize a base in one or two locals, through organizing rank-and-file groups, it will give them leadership in the strike. The six-hour, $6.00-day, five-day week and many other demands can be won. A broad strike movement in Pittsburgh would have tremendous effect throughout the mining field everywhere and throughout the steel industry.

More and more, the miners are becoming conscious that the New Deal and the N.R.A. are directed against them. Ideologically and politically, the miners are far ahead of their leaders. Many local officials are against the policy of the district and national officers. These local officials are not supported by an organized Lewis opposition group that would give added strength to the fighting local officials. An organized rank-and-file is necessary that would be ever

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on the alert against the encroachments of the coal operators in worsening the conditions in the mine, on the alert against the attempts of the district officials who are constantly trying to put in their own henchmen and to oust these local officials that want to fight in the interest of the miners. Ever on the alert, watching their leadership, weeding out the weak vacillating types and putting in fighting leaders. Not only exposing Lewis, Murray and Fagan as misleaders, as agents of the coal operators, but building a militant rank-and-file determined to take their union out of the control of the coal operators and the N.R.A., on the basis of a program of struggle and to give leadership to that struggle—this is the task. An organized rank-and-file must be developed that will come out fearlessly and openly with their program, to issue their own paper, to visit other locals and to win them over for such a struggle, to utilize the constitution of the U.M.W.A. as far as possible, but to remember that the constitution of the U.M.W.A. has been re-written since Lewis became president in the interests of the coal operators and not of the miners.

The building up of such a rank-and-file can only be done by really concentrating on those mines that the Party can give proper personal attention to and to stick to the task in these mines, until Lewis, Murray, Fagan and company have been isolated from the miners. It is vitally important to build a Party unit in these mines, hidden from the coal operators but not from the miners; a Party unit that the miners will look to for leadership, and which will defend the Communist program and organization. It is necessary to issue a Party mine paper that will deal with the problems in the mine, giving leadership for the correction of every grievance, and with this always as the starting point, to expose the New Deal and the N.R.A., to explain patiently and in the miners' language, the danger of fascism and imperialist war; to explain that the struggles for reforms are of importance but that these struggles cannot eliminate unemployment, misery, hunger and war, because they are inherent in the capitalist system.

II.

The basic preparations in the Pittsburgh district, for struggle at the expiration of the agreements in the mining field on April 1st, are the strengthening of the mine units, especially at the mines of concentration, with every member of the unit active in the U. M. W. A. local union responsible for the organizing of a strong rank-and-file group that will draw every member of the local union into active responsibility in preparations for strike struggle. The Lewis, Fagan, coal operators' machine is working day and night

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trying to reach an agreement satisfactory to the coal operators and at the expense of the miners. A timid approach only works against the interest of the miners.

Mine units are not really functioning units until they learn how to give leadership to all the struggles of the miners and to link up immediate demands with winning the miners for the final struggle against the capitalist system. A unit fully developed has to be able to show the miners how the capitalist system can be defeated, that this is the task of the working class, that the miners play a very important role in this struggle, and to explain what a Soviet America would mean to the miners.

Social-reformism within the ranks of the miners cannot simply be judged by the organizational strength of the Socialist Party. The A. F. of L. is the main carrier in the mining field of this capitalist ideology; and Lewis, Murray and Fagan are the spokesmen and leaders who inject this poison into the ranks of the miners. Thousands of miners understand that to get more wages, more relief, better conditions means a fight, a bitter fight in which they will have to defeat the private gunmen (yellow dogs) of the coal operators, that the deputies, state troopers, national guard, the courts and all the forces of the government will be used against them if the N.R.A. is unable to defeat the miners with more promises that never actually aid them. We must point out and make clear to the miners that only through struggle can anything be won. We must expose those leaders who propose arbitration and who oppose strikes. We must explain to the miners that to give up the right of strike is to give up the most powerful weapon in the hands of the miners.

Just as these social-reformists advocate arbitration, which is a weapon of the coal operators, a weapon of the capitalist class used against the working class, so they advocate a "peaceful" solution for the transformation of capitalism to Socialism—"to educate the capitalist and for the workers to wait until capitalism falls of its own weight", etc. This is the same poison that they carry into the workers' ranks; when the latter are ready to struggle for immediate demands, they propose arbitration instead. We have to show the miners on the basis of the struggle for the smallest economic demands, which are always fought against viciously by the coal operators and by all capitalist groups, how suicidal it would be to expect them to give up their class rule, to give up their class privilege of private ownership without a struggle. The mine unit should persistently expose this reformist ideology as capitalist poison injected into the ranks of the workers for the defense of capitalism, to defeat the miners in their everyday demands, to link the miners through Lewis, Fagan

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and Co., up with the efficiency production apparatus of the coal operators and the war machinery of the government.

To strengthen the mine units and mining camp units, to develop leading unit bureaus raising the political level of the units, to increase the initiative of the units as the basic Party organizations is the main task of the Party especially at the mines of concentration. Without doing this, there is no solid Bolshevik foundation upon which to build. This is the task of the district and section leadership and the individual responsibility of those leading comrades assigned to the mines of concentration. Without organization, the tasks set cannot be fulfilled. Without organization, it is nonsense to talk about fighting for the line of the Party among the miners; without organization, the making of the turn in Party and trade union work, emphasized in the Open Letter and in the convention resolution, cannot be made; without organization, the miners will again be defeated by the N.R.A., the coal operators and their agents, Lewis and Co. The basic organization is the Party mine unit. Wherever there is a functioning Party unit, there is activity and concrete results. Wherever the Party unit does not function, or functions poorly, there is little or no activity, there is confusion and chaos, not only in the ranks of the Party but in the ranks of the workers as well. This we must always keep in mind. When tasks are not fulfilled and activities not developed, we must examine the mine unit and we will find that the weakness is in the unit, and the cause of the weakness will generally be found at the top, either in the section leadership or the district leadership or both.

The developing of the unit as a political leader can only be done in struggle. In preparing each mine for struggle on April 1st or before, the conditions for struggle are there. Again, this means organization, the strengthening of the Party fraction in the U.M.W.A. and the unemployed organizations in order to surround the fraction with those miners who are ready for a struggle around the April 1st demands and for inner union democracy; to win the locals in support of these demands and to get the locals to take the leadership in calling local wage scale conferences, either of the same company mines or territorial; to send out committees to other locals in support of their program; to present their demands to the scale committee and to prepare to strike in the mines on April 1st, to enforce these demands; to set up broad strike committees that will take leadership, laying the basis for the spreading of the strike to other localities and coal fields, doing this around the mines selected for concentration, and to stick at it until the tasks are accomplished.

Around these mines, especially the mines of concentration, it is essential that the unemployed councils organize the unemployed

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miners also for the struggle against the 59-cent dollar, for more relief, against the shutting down of the C.W.A. jobs; to fight for the right to a job at union wages; to mobilize mass support for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, H.R. 7598; to demand that this Bill be passed in this session of Congress. Every local of the U.M.W.A. will endorse this Bill once they get an opportunity to read and discuss it. There is no better link between the employed and the unemployed miners than the struggle for the six-hour day, five-day week and unemployment insurance. While the U.M.W.A. is the main organization in the mining field, there are other A. F. of L. organizations and many central labor bodies which can be drawn into support of the Unemployment Insurance Bill, H.R. 7598, and in support of the April 1st struggles; in order to raise before the workers' organizations the need for unity and mass pressure upon Congress so as to insure that the Bill will be taken out of committee and brought before Congress at the same time, demanding from every Congressman that he support the Bill, circulating petitions and referendums through the union and other mass organizations in support of the Bill, linking this up with the struggle against war, and pointing out where the money can be gotten for the Bill, especially from the war appropriations.

The carrying through of the tasks, especially the development of struggle, can only be accelerated by serious effort to spread the *Daily Worker* and increase the circulation of Party and trade union literature. Without systematic work in mass agitation, the building of mass organizations and developing of mass struggles are handicapped, poorly developed and poorly led. Such important united front organizations as the A. F. of L. Rank and File Committee for Unemployment Insurance are not known in the mining field of our district. Thousands of local unions and many central labor bodies in the A. F. of L. have endorsed the Unemployment Insurance Bill, H.R. 7598, through the activities of this committee, and in spite of the frantic effort of Bill Green to outlaw this committee. Many U.M.W.A. locals and central bodies in the mining field can very easily be drawn into this A. F. of L. rank and file committee and play an active part in the struggle for unemployment insurance. This would greatly strengthen the preparations for strike on April 1st, and draw the miners immediately into open conflict with their top leadership who like Green are opposed to unemployment insurance. The task of the Party units and fractions, as well as the opposition in the U.M.W.A. is to set up broader united front committees around these special demands and draw more and more miners into leadership and responsibility, developing a new and broader leadership.

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In the immediate task of preparing and developing the strike and unemployed struggles in the mining field on April 1st around the demands now being discussed by the miners, every problem that confronts the miners is on the order of the day, and miners are willing to discuss them and find a way to solve these problems. It is *how* we approach these problems that will determine how quickly the Party can win leadership in the mining field. The greatest weakness has been the timid right-opportunist hiding of the Party and hesitation in penetrating the A. F. of L. The Party's position on the problems facing the Negro miners has not been brought forward very strongly. We cannot win the Negroes unless our white miners and first of all Party members lead the struggles against discrimination. The same thing applies to the young miners; only in the loosest manner have the special demands of the young miners been raised.

The struggle against fascism and war has not yet found any organizational expression in the mining field. It has been limited to resolutions and a few speeches, while the women of the miners who have always played a splendid fighting role in all strikes, disappear immediately following the end of the strike. It is around the preparations for struggle for immediate demands that we must learn to bring forward the Party and explain the Party position toward all of these problems. It would be a "Left" sectarian approach if we explained the revolutionary way out of the crisis without basing it upon the immediate and burning needs of the miners. However, in raising the demand against discrimination against the Negro miners, in raising the demand for higher wages because of the inflation program and its 59-cent dollar, in raising the demand for unemployment insurance, or for struggle against fascism and war, etc., our Party as a whole has not yet sufficiently learned how to explain why there is discrimination practiced against the Negro, why the program of the capitalists leads towards fascism and war and why the imperialist nations tear at each others' throats in the struggle for markets and unite in preparing for war against the Soviet Union, etc. It is also necessary to explain in the struggle for more relief and unemployment insurance why people are hungry while there is plenty to eat and why there are seventeen million unemployed while factories stand idle—to show the miners in presenting a program of struggle for immediate demands why all the wealth goes to the capitalist class, and hunger, unemployment, uncertainty and misery are the lot of the miners; and finally what has to be done to remove this cause and to bring forward our Party as the only Party that offers a solution.

The preparations for the Eighth Party Convention are part of the preparations for the development of the struggle in the mining

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field on April 1st. The fulfillment of the most modest tasks set by the Pittsburgh district can be accomplished; but the main task of the district is to overcome these weaknesses of leadership, to develop good organizers, a broad cadre of good Party functionaries, to develop unit bureaus and section committees that can give leadership without depending solely on the district. A leadership must be established that can draw around the Party every miner willing to struggle, by setting up organizations of rank-and-file groups in the U.M.W.A. strong enough to defeat the inner organized machinery that is being organized in every local by Lewis, Fagan and company, in the interest of the coal operators. In order to raise the slogan demanding the enactment of H.R. 7598, we must have organization. The struggle against fascism and war requires organization and only when we learn how to set up a united front organization of struggle around these special demands, will we be able to say that we are laying the basis for the building of the Party into a mass Party, a pre-requisite for the winning of the majority of the American working class to the program and leadership of our Party, for the workers' way out of the crisis, for a Soviet America.

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The Line Is Correct—To Realize It Organizationally Is the Central Problem

(*Pre-Convention Discussion Article.*)

By J. A. ZACK

AT the time of our last Party Convention (1930), but a few months after the Wall Street crash, when capitalism had just received its first major blow of its present general crisis, we were still in the process of talking the Party and its followers out of the "exceptionalism" and "prosperity" theories of Lovestone, Cannon & Co.

What a change since then! Things are moving fast. There is tempo in politics, a general fluidity in the thoughts of the masses in the economic and political maneuverings of the bourgeoisie. The masses are pressing for "changes", for "new ways"; and the bourgeoisie, in order to switch the natural revolutionary mood of the masses into reactionary channels, is also talking against the things of old—capitalism must "change", must be "reformed"; there is the "new deal".

Mr. Hoover stuck to the "methods" of the forefathers too much to suit the present needs of the bourgeoisie. There had to be new methods of deception to stop the Leftward trend of the masses at least for a while, to confuse and disorientate it, to switch it into the *new way out* for the bourgeoisie, into the path towards fascization. Comrades Browder, Bittelman and others have ably analyzed the "new deal". There is no need for me to add to the analysis.

In order to consider the problems of the working class at the Party's Eighth Convention, it is necessary to do so against this background of great economic and political fluidity.

SELF-CRITICISM

If we are to be self critical, then let us examine our work in the light of this new situation. Have we become a Party capable enough to react politically and organizationally to these rapidly changing situations without being thrown off our track to the "Right" and to the "Left"? Of course not. Have we even strengthened our mobility and political alertness in any way to measure up to the situation? Again we have not.

The Polburo Resolution correctly points out our "Right" ten-

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dency on the question of the united front in the form of *top politics*, our weaknesses in combatting the "red scare", in allowing the bourgeoisie to outlaw us ideologically (a far more dangerous way of being outlawed than by law) without seriously combatting it. Then there are the opportunist errors in connection with the anti-Japanese campaign and our paralysis at the time of the bank crash. Generally it may be said that the rapidly changing situation and maneuvers of the bourgeoisie take our breath away for weeks at a time until we find our bearings. We hold on to old formulas, interpretations and methods when they no longer serve the purpose. Have we not all, more or less to the "Right" or to the "Left", participated in these errors, including the writer? Of course, we have.

Thus, with this general introduction as a background, I want to come down to things more specifically.

NEW EVENTS AMONGST THE WORKING CLASS

That the working class has lost much of its old "contentment" or sheepishness since 1929 one only needs to note last year's strike wave and the militant large-scale actions prior to it on the part of the unemployed. Right now there is brewing an even much larger strike wave and forebodings of large-scale struggles of the unemployed with the perspective of a fusion of these struggles of employed and unemployed on a colossal scale for the first time.

There is a far larger section of the working class organized now into a great variety of organizations than was the case at our last Party Congress, much of this mass is under Communist and "semi-radical" working class leadership. A part of the counter-revolutionary role and degeneracy of the renegades is to underestimate precisely this fact; and although the Party is nearly four times as large as in 1930 and of better social composition, it registered a slower growth by far than is warranted by the tempestuous growth of the working class movement. This precisely is the danger point.

The greatest event in my opinion (expressing the new moods of the masses) of the last year is the growth of Independent Trade Union organization outside the A. F. of L., comprising about 300,000 workers. The force of this development, if centralized, as proposed, into an *Independent Federation of Labor*, will be accentuated manifold, considering that this movement (most of which is outside the T.U.U.L.) got under way with very little organization apparatus to start with, while the A. F. of L. had not only an established large-scale apparatus but government patronage and financial support. This event is of great historical importance.

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Another event of enormous significance and equal importance is the militancy displayed by the masses organized into the A. F. of L., particularly the new masses organized in basic industry, who, although held down by the official apparatus of the labor fakers, are *jumping the traces and going over to* independent rank-and-file action.

To gain leadership of this movement in spite of the A. F. of L. and to unite and merge it in various ways with the movement outside of the A. F. of L.—this is our great task of the moment, and surely all the emphasis of the Central Committee on the work inside the A. F. of L. is more than well justified. Let me then add what I can to emphasize its importance as never before.

The spearhead of the class struggle industrial union movement of the rank and file in and outside the A. F. of L. is, of course, the class struggle unions led by us, whose ideological influence goes far beyond the organizational confines of our own apparatus. To bring it more directly under our organizational influence and control is our great problem.

Our main strategic line is the organization of the unorganized into the industrial unions based on working class principles as against the capitalist-minded A. F. of L.-led unions. This is sufficiently established by tradition and reemphasized as our main strategic aim in the newly formulated Industrial Union resolutions, such as the mining, textile and other resolutions. The point is that in a whole number of industries, as pointed out in the Draft Resolutions of the C.C., we cannot reach this strategic aim without putting the main emphasis upon work in the newly organized A. F. of L. unions of those industries. The Resolution on the tactical approach towards the formation of independent unions or masses that are radicalized to the point of moving out of the A. F. of L. but not yet coming to the T.U.U.L., greatly clarifies our perspective in this respect.

I have made the error of suspecting the main intention of the C.C. from the "left" and letting myself be provoked by incidental opportunist interpretations of this line here and there on the part of some of the leading comrades. It is clear, however, that the genuine intention of the C.C. is not to run our trade union work into the opportunist channels of reforming the A. F. of L. or of serving as a reactionary influence to drive the masses into or keep the masses in the A. F. of L., but to give the necessary and proper emphasis warranted by the situation to A. F. of L. work in order to swing the Party decisively towards this important work, *an aim with which I am and always was in full agreement, as I can abundantly prove by my practical work.*

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THE A. F. OF L. AS THE MAIN DANGER

A great deal has to be done indeed as yet to make our Party fully conscious of the role of the A. F. of L. as the main danger in the camp of the working class, as the brake upon the militancy of the masses, as the force that acts as a paralysis upon the moods of the masses.

Too often our comrades consider the A. F. of L. question as a pure and simple trade union question, not realizing that the A. F. of L., due to the peculiar background of the American development, is the *great political instrument of the bourgeoisie* in the ranks of the working class. The role ascribed by the bourgeoisie in Europe to social-democracy is performed in the U.S. by the A. F. of L., supplemented by the Socialist Party and the "left" variety of social-fascists, Muste, Lovestone, Cannon, etc. The outstanding fact necessary to understand, however, is that the A. F. of L. and the R.R. Brotherhoods are the main political force of Wall Street amongst the working class. Many new forms of "left" social demagogy are coming out lately, and are based upon it, including Labor Party tendencies. I suppose that if the labor fakers would blossom forth in European forms politically in the form of a Labor Party, many of our comrades would sooner recognize its true character. Indeed we have just begun to fight this, the main perverter of the working class ideology in the U.S. The sooner we are through with any polemics on this matter and go over full blast to organizing this fight seriously, the greater will our progress be all around.

THE PARTY'S SOREST SPOT

I cannot deal here with a great many problems that confront the Party Convention and that have not yet been really touched upon. It seems that many comrades are utilizing the discussion just to write additional articles boosting their or our achievements here and there. The fact is, *our Party is really not a good working organization.* To bring out these essential weaknesses and show how to overcome them should, in my opinion, be the achievement of the discussion and the Party Convention.

I have shown how the fluidity in economics and politics which is the outgrowth of the crisis requires of us to be capable and alert strategists of the working class. If not, we shall be tail-ending forever. As the main Draft Resolution points out, our Party cannot become mobile if the political work is confined to the top organizers and top committees. Our central problem is *how to make the unit of the Party and Party fraction do its own leading* on the basis of the general line of the Party. The sooner we center our main attention

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on this the better; and why can we not do so now that we have a united Party?

The Draft Resolution does not do justice to this problem. The working class is becoming "organization-minded" more than ever before. Not only do they constantly turn over in their mind the problem as to how to get out of the hole capitalism has put them in, but there is one central thought running through the mass mind, that *organization is the way out.* They don't distinguish often between what organization, but organize they must. This is becoming the *mass idea* and unless we put our Party in working order and make every Party member a mass organizer, we shall miss the chance. Our good program will remain high and dry, our enemies will marshal the Leftward moving masses and divert them onto the rails of the bourgeoisie once more. This is taking place right now, and this danger grows every minute. Therefore, good organization becomes our central political problem. Only through it can we seize the organizing mood of the masses and lead it into class struggle channels.

If we examine our Party from this point of view we have, I say, a sorry mess. Our units do not hook up with mass work. They lead a sterile life, apart and on the sideways of the problems of the masses. The bulk of our members are neither members nor active in the unions or unemployed councils.

The language organizations are reverting to Federationism, living a sectarian, nationalistic life, apart from the general class struggle problems and work of the Party. In short, the Communists are tied up into a knot, doing in the main, many and sundry activities except the most important, that is, to organize the factory masses and the unemployed. A mass movement is growing up around them, but the Communists are connected with it only with the tiniest of apron strings.

The problem is: Are we capable of marshalling our own forces to work for the realization of our main strategic line? Thus far we have shown little ability to do so, but there are signs that we see the problem and begin to grapple with it. The Draft Resolution indicates the way by the concentration method of each unit having a specific group of factory workers to concentrate upon. The whole significance of this, however, and the organizational problem as a whole are the least part of the Resolution.

HOW IT ALL WORKS OUT

To illustrate how this type of Party organization works even under the best of circumstances, I will illustrate from last year's strike

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wave. The Party in the Ohio district had done very little trade union work since its existence. During the last strike wave a few dozen Communists got busy and in six months recruited 5,400 workers into the industrial unions of the T.U.U.L., but it was impossible to recruit more than 10 per cent of our own Party members into the unions. Of course, we were not able to hold more than one-third of the recruitment! Had we had a moderately well working Party, the story would be different. The type of Party we have in the U.S. works in a manner that only one out of twenty full-time functionaries concentrates on factory work or mass work among the unemployed; and as to money spent, I dare say that the proportion is not more than 5 cents to each dollar. If concentration means anything it means that the bulk of forces and means are to be concentrated to achieve the main objectives. We cannot win the respect of the masses as organizers when they see us incapable of mobilizing our own forces.

SOME PROPOSALS

I have pictured rather strongly the negative sides in our Party organization. Is it a wonder that we grew as slowly as we have? How much faster will we grow if we overhaul basically our whole methods of work! How should we do it? *Organization is applied politics.* This is an old axiom. If we aim to organize the decisive sections of the proletariat then let us 1) take our best forces—support them with means to concentrate on the decisive production units (factories, mines or terminals) of the country. Probably 200 or so, but let us start at least with a few dozen. 2) Let us assign forces at least equivalent to a first class section organizer to each point, (large plant, etc.), and make the neighboring Party units (one or more), to concentrate upon that plant under the leadership of one capable comrade. 3) There is to be no Party unit without specific tasks in the form of concentrating either upon a factory or the unemployed in its neghborhood. 4) Each language organization to concentrate upon organizing its nationals in the same factory as the Party unit. The same with all the other auxiliary organizations instead of roaming all about and around the decisive points of monopoly capitalism. Let them concentrate their activities at these decisive points. It will be hard and difficult to start with but fruitful and decisive in the long run. 5) All Party members to join the unions. To start with the units that concentrate to join the union of the industry they concentrate on, thus forming a base for a recruiting local, creating the necessary organization apparatus for the union work. (The workers will recognize and accept them gladly if they are active in their behalf.) 6) A goodly percentage of the various

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money raising campaigns of the Party and auxiliary organizations to go for factory work in the decisive industries and plants.

Space forbids to go at length into all the implications of this basic reorganization of our methods of work. I suggested some of these two years ago. Unfortunately very little was done practically to put them into effect. The Party Convention must deal with this basic question. This is not a mere organizational stratagem. It isa way of putting the Party onto the rails of mass work. It is the path to mobilize for the fulfilment of our Resolutions, giving every unit a concrete task and thus changing its own inner political life, every member having something specific to fulfil in the main task of the Party. It is a method of hooking our machinery to the basic sections of the working class and making the necessary *transition* from street to factory units and factory methods of work.

It is a way of mobilizing our entire forces against the main enemy in the camp of the working class—the whole variety of social fascists and particularly the A. F. of L. It is the way for the Party, not only to become a better mass agitator, but above all to make the necessary transition towards becoming a mass organizer and merging with the masses and their problems. It is the way of mobilizing the Party against war, learning the illegal methods characteristic of factory work and avoiding isolation in the event of war. The time left for the fulfillment of this is short indeed. I feel confident that the Party Convention will rise to the occasion and that, as a result, we shall have the necessary basic changes in the methods of work of the Party and a strengthened leadership qualified to help make these changes, assuring tempestuous growth of the movement as corresponds to the needs and possibilities of the working class under the conditions of today.

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The Key to Our Central Problem —The Winning of the Majority of the Working Class

By F. BROWN

(*Pre-Convention Discussion Article.*)

THERE is no doubt that the pre-Convention discussion can be considered as a turn in the method of discussion, in raising the consciousness of the Party to the fundamental tasks to be solved in this period. It can be seen in the growing interest of the Party members in the reading and discussion of the various resolutions, and in the raising of a whole series of problems. However, the old mechanical approach which prevents the comrades, especially in the lower units, from facing the fundamental problems, still prevails. Especially in discussing the draft resolution of the Party, many comrades ask themselves: How can we solve the many problems with which the Party is confronted—the problems of building the Party, the revolutionary unions, the oppositions in the A. F. of L.; of broadening out the unemployed movement; of developing the struggle against fascism and war? How can the united front tactic be correctly applied in order to draw the masses to support our various objectives? Above all, how can we strengthen and build the Party in the basic industries and equip it to take leadership for the future gigantic struggles in order to lead the American working class to power?

Facing so many problems at once, some of the comrades find themselves lost, failing to grasp the relationship between the various tasks and looking at them as separate problems and not as parts of a whole. For this reason, they are searching for the key to the solution of the individual tasks, instead of looking for the main key that will help to solve the central problem and thus unlock the various parts. That central problem is the task of winning the majority of the working class.

The draft resolution of the C.C. states correctly: "The central task of the Party is to organize and lead the fight against the offensive of the capitalist class, against developing fascism and the threat of imperialist war, to develop these struggles on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers in the general class battles for the overthrow of the capitalist dictatorship and the setting up of a Soviet government. This requires a quickening of

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the tempo and an improvement in the quality of the work of the Party, to fight for winning *through the decisions of the Open Letter with regard to rooting the Party among the basic strata of the proletariat in the most important industries and factories through the application of the policy of concentration*".

In other words, in order to win the majority of the working class and to solve the problems pointed out above which are a part of this task, the Party must organize and lead the fight against the offensive of the capitalist class as the pre-requisite to the building of the Party into a mass proletarian party. The key to the solution of this task as embodied in the Open Letter, which remains the fundamental document before the Party, must be discussed together with the Thirteenth Plenum Resolution of the E.C.C.I. and the draft resolution of our Central Committee.

Why is it that so many months after such a document was issued and discussed, the results of our work along the line of the Open Letter are still weak? Why is it that it requires such great effort to solve the problem of building a mass Party through concentration work?

At this point, it is necessary to investigate the causes for such slow development, because only in this way shall we be able to put our fingers on the weak spots.

One of the causes that I want to deal with is to be found in the gap existing between the political understanding of the problems by the lower organizations and the top leadership. Let me illustrate:

Let us take the various resolutions of the C.I., the C.C., or the District Committees. What happens to these resolutions when they reach the units? We know from experience that often they are not fully understood, or they reach the units in a distorted manner.

The documents, many times, remain in effect the property of a few. Moreover, it is interesting to note that on the basis of such documents, the district or section leadership takes steps to mobilize and activize the Party along the line of such documents working out the concrete tasks. But how do these steps take concrete form? In many cases, it is only the mechanical part of the decisions that reaches the lower organizations; the political reasons for the practical tasks are lost, particularly if the section or unit organizer is unable to explain the why of the steps to be taken. This explains also the lack of enthusiasm for carrying out many of the decisions, and the little effort made by many of the Party members in finding and applying the best method in the concretization of the task.

This happened also to the Open Letter, which, only to some extent, was concretized; but for the most part, remained at the discussion stage. This was clearly shown in the last wave of strikes.

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While the struggles were going on, the Open Letter was still being discussed, and only part of the Party understood the application of its line to the struggles and to the daily tasks of the Party.

From this example, we see immediately that to solve the problem of concentration and the other problems correlated with this fundamental one, we must simultaneously solve the basic political organizational problem which in a nutshell can be expressed—*"make the units conscious of their nature"*—which calls for the solution of the second problem—the *development of the unit and section leadership to politically developed leaders.* This is the key to the solution of the problem of improving the life of the units and their activities.

How can this be done? Through more frequent functionaries' meetings at which the experiences of the work of the sections and units are exchanged, at which the fundamental political and organizational problems of the Party are discussed, and at which suggestions for improvement are made—improvement of the training schools, national, district and evening courses, etc.; through more political discussion in the units, etc. It is only through the development of the unit organizers and unit bureaus into political leaders that the units will understand their function and their tasks; that each individual Party member will act as a conscious Communist and not as an automaton; that the discussion in the units will improve and the Party members will be better equipped to convince the workers of the correctness of our daily activities and of our program.

At this point it is evident that the Central Committee and District Committees, visualizing this basic problem, must be instrumental in giving the correct guidance for its solution. All steps taken in this direction: visiting of the units, studying of their life, help in the understanding of their nature, help in showing how the practical steps of concentration should be taken, improving of the Party press, especially the Party Life in the *Daily Worker*, the *Party Organizer*, in treating the manifold program raised by the units, by individuals, on how to improve the unit life—must be further developed.

It is on the basis of continuous and thorough study of the problems facing the lower organizations, in showing not only theoretically, but practically how to apply the Party line in the various places and situations that the C.C. and District Committees will exercise their leading role in the solution of this basic problem.

There is no doubt that theoretically, the problem is understood by all the leading comrades; it is in the practical solution that we find the weakness. The reason is to be found in the lack of systematization and simplification of the organizational work, in the center itself, and in the districts, in the lack of division of work. It is known how the organizational commissions are overburdened by

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a tremendous amount of technical problems, details, campaigns, requests of fractions in mass organizations, by individuals seeking guidance on problems, many times out of the jurisdiction of the organizational commission, so that the main organizational tasks are submerged.

Yes, many of these problems are important and must be solved. The organizational commissions, however, must be equipped in such a way (through a better division of work), to be able to carry on its main tasks: *the improvement of the organization of the Party for a better, more efficient concretization of the political line into practical tasks.*

We must break the old conceptions, that the organizational work of the Party is merely mechanical office work and raise it to its full political significance.

To solve the problem of concentration as the key for penetrating the basic and most decisive sections of the working class, especially at this period, *we must at the same time bring our agitational and propaganda work to a higher level.* This is an absolute necessity if we want to enlighten the great masses of our program and of our aims. More than ever before, we must go before the masses not only with the program of the immediate aims on the basis of which we will rally the masses and lead them into struggle, but we must connect the program of the immediate demands with the Communist program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. Today, if it is true that large masses are still prejudiced against us, it is also true that larger and larger masses are wanting to know what the Communist Party proposes to do to solve the problems of the working class, the problem of the crisis. And we must give them an answer.

In this respect, the pre-Convention discussion is not only of tremendous importance for the raising of the consciousness of the Party to the basic tasks of this period, but it is also instrumental in making of the Party members and sympathizers an army of tens of thousands that will speak to the masses, will mobilize, organize, and lead them in the struggle.

It is only by strengthening the Party, by making clear its role in the present period and in the near future, that we shall be able to lead the daily struggles and be equipped to lead the future battles that will bring the working class into power in the United States.

To achieve this aim, we must simultaneously solve some of the basic organizational problems. *One of these is to strengthen the District and Section leaderships and to bring them closer to the lower organizations, i.e.,* to divide some of the districts and sections. (Districts 10, 11, 19, and others.) It is simply impossible for districts which cover such areas where units are hundreds of miles away

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from the center to give proper guidance and leadership. It is impossible for the sections where the units are scattered over a large territory to reach the units weekly, to raise the political understanding of the problems which the units face, etc.

The solution of this problem, however, calls for the solution of another problem of the utmost importance; *the development of new cadres.* Hundreds of new section and unit organizers must be trained to become political leaders. The center of the Party located in New York, situated at one extreme of the country, finds it difficult to give leadership, especially to the districts west of the Mississippi. And here again, we have to solve the problem of how to bring the center —in the form of a Regional Bureau of the C.C.—or in the form of organizational instructors, closer to these districts and the problems of the West and South.

An annual National Training School cannot solve the problem of cadres. When we take into consideration that our movement is spreading rapidly all over the country and that the Party is pressed with the building of new districts and sections, this problem can no longer be ignored, and cannot be solved by National Training Schools which are held once a year. This becomes one of the vital problems upon the solution of which the development of the Party depends a great deal. In the Party budget, therefore, the financing of national and district training schools must take a prominent place.

While the policy of concentration in the five most important industrial centers is absolutely correct, and it is primarily there that the best forces must be concentrated, since it is through the development of the movement there that we will insure the guiding role of he proletariat in bringing into motion the exploited masses all over the country in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat—we cannot ignore the struggles of the masses in the West, which, in turn, also have a repercussion in the key concentration points. While concentrating in the five major industrial districts, more attention will have to be paid to the vast territory of the West and the South where workers are aroused and are asking for the leadership of the Party.

There is no time to be wasted. The effects of the N.R.A. are here. The masses of employed, of unemployed, poor farmers, etc., feel them. The masses are stirred and ready for struggle. The second wave of strikes, this time against the effects of the N.R.A., has already been started. The masses are more and more affected by the rising prices, which are ultimately lowering their wages and their standard of living. The illusions of the first period of the N.R.A., to a great extent, are over. The masses do not strike any more for the enforcement of the codes, nor do they believe in the "protection"

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of the president. But their struggles take on a more and more open political character. The strikes are against the effects of the N.R.A., against the N.R.A. itself.

In this situation, one of the vital points for the broadening of the struggles is the correct application of the united front tactic through which we will not only succeed in uniting large masses in struggles for immediate common issues, but put large masses into motion and unmask the treacherous role of the social-fascist leaders. For this reason, while concentrating on and developing the daily struggles, while bringing forward the working class program of the way out of the crisis, we must at the same time vigorously smash the attempt of the renegades and of the new so-called "American Workers' Party" to split the workers' ranks and, in this way, to help the ruling class in its fascization process. *The building of a united front from below is the way of strengthening the Party position among the masses; to mobilize, organize and lead the working class armies against the offensive of the capitalist class*, against developing fascism and the threat of imperialist war; and to develop the struggles on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers in the general class battles for the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship and the setting up of a Soviet government.

Building the united front means bringing forward our Party as the only vanguard of the working class and winning into its ranks large strata of the best fighters. This is the way to build our Party into a mass revolutionary Party; this is the way to equip the Party to lead the American working class on the road to power.

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The Inner Life of Our Party and Its Work Among the Foreign-Born Workers

(*Pre-Convention Discussion Article*)

By JOHN ADAMS

"IMPROVEMENT of the inner life of the Party and turning our face to the mass struggles," we read in the Draft Resolution for the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, "is a burning necessity, to which all leading organs must give their fullest attention, establish direct personal contact with the Party units and lower Party organizations". The Draft Resolution further points out that "the building of unit leadership, of section committees, strengthening them politically, raising their initiative, demands that an end be put to the tendency of monopolizing all political work in the hands of the top organizers and requires the development of real collective leadership from the Central Committee down to the units".

That is all. We have been repeating these phrases for the last fifteen years. We have a political line laid down and repeated in resolutions, theses and open letters of the Party plenums and conferences; we have the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Communist International putting forward the political tasks before its sections in this period of maturing revolutionary crisis of capitalism. This political line of the Party is correct. But not once did our Party face squarely the question of the inner Party life. The Eighth Convention should face this issue.

WHY DON'T WE GROW ORGANIZATIONALLY?

Why is our Party lagging behind its ideological influence among the masses? Why don't we grow organizationally? It is absolutely correct to say that we must turn our "face toward mass struggles". But will that alone build our Party into a mass Bolshevik Party embracing hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers?

How can we explain, for instance, the fact that our Party has led strikes of hundreds of thousands of workers, but at the end we found that we either gained nothing organizationally, or have taken several hundred applications just to find that a few months later the Party ranks remain practically at the same point at which we

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had started—one hundred per cent turnover in membership? The Draft Resolution does not analyze this condition and does not point the way out of it. Let us hope that the convention will find time to tackle this all-important problem before our Party. In my opinion, upon its proper solution will, to a great extent, depend the growth of the Communist Party.

Let us take the units of our Party—shop and street nuclei. The Draft Resolution does not dwell upon their present condition, nor attempt to analyze their activities. But it is exactly this situation that is at the bottom of all our troubles as far as the difficulties of building the Party are concerned. Without the elimination of this situation our Party will not be able to root itself into the proletarian masses in factories, mills, mines, on the fields and in neighborhoods.

About two years ago the Central Committee decided to politicalize the Party units and to improve their inner life by eliminating from their meetings such activities as are not essential and conducive to the growth of the Party. It forbade mass organizations and higher committees from sending into the units tickets and collection lists, and no collections were to be made for any purpose without the specific permission of the Central Committee. It instructed the units to involve themselves in mass discussions and activities. We rejoiced at this decision of the Committee. But before a serious attempt was made to carry it out in practice, it was forgotten. Today we are even more swamped with all kinds of tickets and collection lists than at any time before in the history of our Party. For example, at the last meeting of my unit the financial secretary asked me to settle for two sets of tickets. I looked into my pockets and found tickets for the I.L.D. bazaar and for the section affair for which I had not settled. But she insisted that I had another two sets of tickets. She must be right and I will have to pay for them, but I do not remember anything about them. I could not even keep track of all the tickets distributed among the comrades. And so it goes. At every meeting every comrade is asked to settle for tickets, and is urged to take batches of new tickets; every comrade is irritated by the reminder, every one is worried about money, the time of the unit is taken up and wasted. Besides tickets, all kinds of leaflets have to be paid for, but the unit has no money—so a collection is taken; the *D.W.* runs into a deficit—collection; the *D.W.* financial drive—collections; Party anniversary greetings, section rent, etc., etc. Very seldom a meeting passes without some kind of a collection. The comrades feel depressed, and those who have no money begin to feel uneasy that they cannot support financially all these activities.

Secondly, why must we kill the unit meetings with all kinds of affairs which are advertised in the *Daily Worker*? The communica-

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tions from the top are very often repetitions of the announcements from the *Daily Worker*. For example, at that particular meeting of my unit we had to "mobilize" ourselves for the Women's International Meeting, the Scottsboro protest meeting, and the Coliseum mass meeting in conjunction with the district convention. From Brooklyn it is about two hours' ride to the Bronx Coliseum, and our unit had to elect committees and ushers for the meetings held in the Coliseum! Nominations, acceptances, declinations! At every meeting it is the same. The unit organizer is angry because it is impossible to mobilize the comrades for these "important activities". The comrades shout back to him. There is an unhealthy atmosphere. Hard words and bad feelings. The evening is wasted. We adjourn and go home. Once, a new and young comrade asked: "What did we get out of this meeting for Communism?" After another meeting, an old woman comrade who is a member of the unit bureau and has agreed to distribute leaflets at the laundry to the striking workers, pleads with me to help her get rid of some of the assignments because she is tired, exhausted, and cannot carry on like that. There are seven days in the week and she has from seven to ten meetings every week, besides the "Red Sundays"!

The technical care of the Coliseum meeting or other meetings should be assigned to the section in the territory, the tickets should be sold at the door, and it should not be allowed to swamp the whole district for weeks with communications and announcements and election of ushers, etc.

Let me return to that particular meeting of my unit. We had a real problem before our unit which in my opinion did not and could not receive in the situation proper attention and consideration. A comrade reported that he works on a C.W.A. project which employs 45 workers. The workers are dissatisfied with the conditions and are ready for organization. They gave their names and addresses to the comrade who promised them that they would be called to a meeting. He turned these names over to the section, went there several times for assistance, but nothing happened. The workers became mistrustful of the comrade because he disappointed them. The job of the unit was to teach this comrade how to organize these workers even without the help of the section and to mobilize the whole unit to assist him in this important task. This would have been real mass work, more important than several sets of tickets which could be bought at the door. But the small, petty matters exhausted our energy and killed our time, and the mass work was pushed into the backyard.

Can we change the situation? Can the unit alone change this situation? No, it cannot. As long as the top is going to continue to flood

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the units with all sorts of announcements, tickets, appeals, financial drives, collection lists, etc., that long the units will remain unable to do real mass work and to hold the new members in the Party.

UNIT INITIATIVE AND NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVITIES

The Open Letter, the Draft Resolution, and the Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum correctly demand the concentration of the major attention of our Party on the work among the workers in large factories of basic industries, on building shop nuclei, and on activities in the trade unions.

But there is another very important problem. Our Party remains overwhelmingly a Party of street units (nuclei). The majority of our members are still in these nuclei and will remain so for some time to come. Secondly, we should never minimize the importance of the neighborhood activities. We have the slogan that "every factory must become a fortress for Communism", but we must also have in mind that every block and every house will have to be turned into barricades during the struggle for power. The struggle of the Austrian workers and the barricades in Vienna and Paris should teach us a very important lesson.

But what to do in the neighborhood? We must build block committees and carry on other activities, organize unemployed workers, etc., but how? What are the street units to do? How much initiative can they have to develop methods and forms of the neighborhood activity? What is the role of the section leadership in relation to the activities of the street units? How can the Party unit as such establish its authority and leadership among the workers in its territory? Again I am giving the experience and example of my unit, and the comrades will see the importance of these questions.

Our unit has been assigned to concentrate in the Negro territory. We have been doing so for over a year and without any results. The comrades have been canvassing several apartment houses trying to establish contacts with the unemployed workers. But as soon as we get these contacts we lose them. It seems that our unit is unable to make itself known to the workers in the neighborhood. We hold our meetings in isolated places, away from the block in which we are canvassing the houses. We have no open organization which would function in the territory. We have no place to meet with the workers of the territory, etc.

Well, we decided that we cannot continue that way. We must do something. We decided to establish a small headquarters by renting a store, and to organize as a social club of some kind and draw Negro workers into it.

But our decision reached the section. The unit organizer reported

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back that the section is discouraging our undertaking, and he also became very much discouraged about it. We argued back and forth and tried to change the attitude of the section leadership. It lasted for several months. We finally lost our patience and decided to go on with our plans. We elected a special committee to find a place for the headquarters and to begin the organization of the club with the contacts that we already had, ourselves joining the club. But the section would continue to discourage us and demoralize our comrades —either with the argument that our unit "has no forces", or that we must wait till we get enough Negro workers into the Party first and give them the task to organize and lead the club. Another month or two passed, and we continued to canvass the house, get contacts and lose them. Then we got "mad" and decided to go over the head of the section. We came to the conclusion that we had sufficient forces and energy to try, at least, to carry out our plans. Several comrades made pledges to contribute a certain amount every month for five months to pay the rent for the headquarters, and we raised several dollars on the spot. I was convinced that at last we had started something. But . . . well . . .

I missed one meeting. At the next meeting the unit bureau reported that the section had stepped in and told us that "we have no forces" to go on with our project, and that the unit bureau decided to recommend to the unit to abandon our plans "for the present". The money already collected was to be spent for "mass meetings and other purposes". . . . The whole thing had been shot to pieces. We decided to return the money to the comrades who had contributed, in order to hold their confidence in the unit.

Today we continue to meet as before, every week, faithfully, discuss the routine matters, but with no real work as far as the concentration in the Negro neighborhood is concerned.

The unit is told to carry on neighborhood activities, to organize the unemployed, build block committees, reach the Negro masses; but has no right to develop forms, methods, and plans for this work. The section holds the units in its grip and kills their activities. The comrades think that if the units will establish their headquarters in their neighborhood, they will stop financing the section headquarters.

OUR WORK AMONG THE FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS

Another problem that I want to take up is the work of our fractions and comrades among the foreign-born workers. The majority, or at least half of our membership, are foreign-born workers. Already today, we have a real revolutionary mass movement among the foreign-born masses. It is important for our party to lead this move-

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ment and to maintain the contact with these workers who are in most cases massed in large factories of basic industries.

We find that the great majority of the foreign-born workers are organized in all kinds of fraternal mass organizations, sick and benefit societies, clubs, circles, etc. Our foreign-born Party comrades are in the mass organizations.

Let me take the problem concretely. Take, for instance, the Communist movement among the Lithuanian workers. There you will find all sorts of mass organizations—some sympathetic toward the Communist movement, others neutral, still others controlled by fascists and other enemies of the working class. We have the Workers' Literary Society with over six thousand members and over two hundred branches; two sick-benefit national organizations sympathetic to our movement; two Communist dailies published by cooperatives composed of hundreds of workers; a proletarian art association with two thousand members, mostly youth; dozen of local societies and clubs, etc. We have succeeded in developing a real mass movement among the youth. We have a strong opposition in the fascist-controlled national organization with over fifteen thousand members. We have influence in the Amalgamated locals in Brooklyn, Rochester, Baltimore, Chicago, etc. The movement is a genuine mass movement. But there are only several hundred Lithuanian members in the Communist Party. Why are there not several thousand?

It is hard to say that the reason lies solely in the fact that our comrades do not know how to carry on their work among the workers. If that was the case, there would be no mass Communist movement, the comrades would not be able to maintain two dailies in this terrible economic crisis. But Party forces do not grow, or grow very slowly. There is a serious danger of losing some ground to the enemies if the Party forces will not increase in the near future. But can these forces increase, and how? What are the difficulties in the way? I have no doubt that the same difficulties are facing our other language groups.

First, as I have already pointed out, the general inner life of the Party is not favorable for holding the new members in the Party. A woman comrade who has just joined the Party writes to me from Waterbury: "Our Party comrades say that only people of iron can remain in the Party and be able to carry on the work". That is the feeling of the comrades who are in the Party, and this feeling is inculcated into the minds of the new members.

Secondly, the attitude of the Party towards its language work and language comrades is unhealthy and must be taken up at the Eighth Convention and changed. The party units, sections, and dis-

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tricts very often look upon the work of the language comrades in the language mass movement as upon non-Communist work. Unless a comrade devotes most of his energy and time in the so-called "direct unit work", he is looked upon as a second grade Communist. If, for instance, he happens to be a secretary of a mass organization with several hundred members and tries to reach these workers with the Communist propaganda, and has no time left for the "direct" unit work, he is not doing Party work! And gradually the comrade is forced either to neglect the mass work, or leave that work altogether and become active in the unit in order to become a "first grade" Communist, or leave the Party. Very often the last proposition is his choice. It breaks his heart to see the mass organizations neglected and abandoned to the enemies—organizations in which he was a member for years and years and in which he has acquaintances and contacts with the workers. He simply cannot break away from them. He would rather leave the Party. I could give hundreds of such cases.

The convention must put an end to this attitude toward the language work. This work must be looked upon as a very important Communist work, and the comrade who is doing this work should be considered a very valuable asset for the movement. He should be asked to give his report to the unit on his activities and the unit should help and guide him in his work.

Very often too much work is loaded upon these comrades—active comrades. We must remember that we cannot remain only generals in the mass organizations. A Communist must also do the Jimmy Higgins work in order to build his influence. The workers have nothing to do with those who only command but refrain from doing constructive work in the organization.

Secondly, a worker cannot remain for any length of time in the Party when he finds that he has no time left for his personal, private, family life. Seven days and seven meetings a week will break down even very devoted Party comrades, and it has broken down hundreds of them to the detriment of the Party and the movement.

LANGUAGE MEETINGS

How does a worker understand the Party? How does he look upon the Party? What is his conception of the role of the Party in relation to his life and work in mass organizations?

When a revolutionary worker who belongs to the mass language movement and is active in it joins the Party, he thinks that the Party will lead and direct him in his work. He thinks he will meet with other comrades who belong to the same movement to plan the work

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and to decide on the best way to carry out the Party campaigns in mass organizations. That is what we tell the workers when we ask them to join the Party. The Communists act as a unit, as a group in the mass movement—not as a blind group with ready-made instructions and decisions, but as a group that understands the problems of the workers and their organizations.

But what does the worker from the mass organization find in the Party? Very often he finds that he is left alone in the mass organization without the help and advice of the Party comrades. Well, we say, we must build Party fractions in mass organizations. Absolutely correct. Fractions must be built. But before we build the fractions we must have material, and till we get sufficient material the work must go on. We have to fight our enemies. They are trying to capture the masses of the workers. The comrade in the mass organization must know what to do and how to do it. He must have guidance and help from other comrades.

Let us take Philadelphia. There we have a large mass Lithuanian movement. If we had a hundred or even fifty members there in the Party the problem would be simple: organize Party fractions in all mass organizations. But it happens that during the reorganization of the Party, when no general meetings of the language comrades were permitted to take place, most of the Lithuanian comrades drifted out of the Party, and up to very recently we had in Philadelphia only about six Party comrades. Because of bad inner life in the Party units, lack of understanding of the new form of organization, overloading with work, underestimation of language work on the part of sections and districts—the most influential mass workers left the Party and became sympathizers. This is the situation not only in Philadelphia, but in almost every larger city. The Party must fact this situation and solve it in a Bolshevik manner.

These six Party comrades of Philadelphia are scattered in at least ten mass organizations. In most of these organizations our comrades have to wage relentless struggle against fascists, social-fascists, and renegades. They are overloaded with work. Some of them are getting exhausted, depressed. The sympathizers complain that they cannot see the Party comrades, cannot find the Party leadership. Where and how will they find this leadership? These six comrades are not supposed to meet as a group and formulate plans and methods for the Party work in these mass organizations.

In my opinion, in such cases where we have no forces to build fractions in the mass organizations, the language comrades must be permitted to meet and act as a group in the city to plan work and to help each other carry their activities in mass organizations. They should not be made to feel that they are committing a crime if they

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are coming together to discuss problems of the language work, and it is not sufficient to permit them to meet once in a few months, as is the case today in many districts. We should not be afraid that that would mean going back to the federation system. It would mean only that we are adjusting ourselves to the existing, concrete situation temporarily in order to advance forward. The work of the Party in the language mass movement would be improved. The workers would begin to see that the Party functions and leads the revolutionary movement—not abstractly, not away from their daily lives and struggles, but in their midst. The influence of the Party would spread, and it would be so much easier to recruit Party members in these mass organizations. And as we recruit new members, we would at the same time build Party fractions in mass organizations.

Language work is very important work for our Party. Unless we learn how to carry on that work, how to mobilize Party comrades for the work, the fascists will win the mass following. Let us not lead ourselves into the belief that we have a contract or a guarantee that even those masses which are already with us today will always remain under our leadership. We may lose them, they may desert us, unless we extend the roots of our Party still deeper, and draw their best elements into the Party ranks.

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What Is Fascism?

By L. MAGYAR

FASCISM is the product of the post-war crisis of the capitalist system.

Lenin said:

> "In capitalist society, under the most favorable conditions of development, we have a more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. But this democracy is always limited by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation and therefore always remains in reality a democracy for a minority, only for the possessing classes, only for the rich. The freedom of a capitalist system always remains much the same as that of the Greek republics of antiquity: a freedom for slave-owners. The hired modern slaves, thanks to the conditions of capitalist exploitation, remain so crushed by need and misery that they have no interest in 'democracy' and 'politics', and in the ordinary, peaceful, course of events. The majority of the population does not participate at all in social and political life." (Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. XXI.)

Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich, —that is the democracy of capitalist society. Even in the freest and most democratic republics, even in their most developed form, even where the labor movement enjoys the broadest "legality", bourgeois democracy only disguises by its democracy the fact that the bourgeois-democratic State is nothing but a *personification and incorporation of class domination, of the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.* Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, have shown that *bourgeois democracy means the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, that the bourgeois State, however democratic it may be, is nothing but the incorporation of bourgeois dictatorship.*

> "Democracy under the capitalist regime is only a capitalist democracy, a democracy of the exploiting minority, consisting in limiting the rights of the exploited majority—a democracy directed against that majority." (Stalin.)

That is the meaning of bourgeois democracy.

But, to the extent that the capitalism of free competition is transformed into monopoly capitalism, its last and highest stage,

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where the entire economic life is concentrated in the hands of a few monopolists, a few large banks and trusts—to the extent that capitalism disintegrates and decays, *democracy* yields to political *reaction.*

Lenin wrote:

> "The political attributes of imperialism are the most extensive reaction and an intensification of national oppression, joined with the oppression of a financial oligarchy and the suppression of free competition."

The class basis for the transformation of democracy, which is characteristic of freely competitive capitalism, into reaction, which is characteristic of the period of imperialism, consists in the appearance of "the omnipotence of finance capital and of its political attributes". (Stalin.)

The world imperialist war and the October Revolution opened the period of the general crisis of capitalism. *If democracy is characteristic of the capitalist period, and reaction of pre-war imperialism,* then the most brutal and open forms of bourgeois dictatorship are characteristic of the general crisis of capitalism. To save capitalism, the bourgeoisie sets afoot the fascist party and fascist organizations. It fascizes its State apparatus, and in some countries it establishes open fascist dictatorship. Fascism, as well as social-fascism, is the product of the general crisis of capitalism. Fascism is the product of the aggravation of class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the struggle for power, in the period when the world proletarian revolution has already begun and the land of Soviets already exists.

Bourgeois democracy is a camouflaged form of bourgeois dictatorship; *fascism is an open form of bourgeois dictatorship.* Bourgeois democracy, never shrinking from the use of *open physical violence* against the revolutionary proletariat, tries to keep the proletariat in class subjection by methods of violence clothed in democratic forms, using the school, the press, the church, etc. Fascism uses, in general, methods of open physical terror against the proletariat, but it does not avoid in the least methods of "democratic" violence against the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy, as a form of bourgeois dictatorship, also fought by all possible means and methods, including the methods of physical violence, against the establishment and development of independent organizations of the working class (against really proletarian parties, unions, etc.) But these organizations were not destroyed by methods of open violence on the part of the bourgeois State power, although the proletariat created them in the midst of relentless class struggle. *The fascist type of bourgeois dictatorship*

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takes as its main task the destruction of working class organizations, and especially of the vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party. Under the conditions of bourgeois democracy freedom of speech, press, and assembly is the freedom of speech, press, and assembly for the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat and its class organizations may, under capitalism, make use of these liberties within the limits imposed by the bourgeoisie. The fascist variety of bourgeois dictatorship suppresses even these scant possibilities.

As the crisis of capitalism grows, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie becomes more bitter. As the struggle between the classes becomes sharper, the bourgeoisie turns more and more to brutal methods of maintaining its class domination and preserving capitalism.

In this situation, opportunism and reformism play an important part. The transformation of freely competitive capitalism into monopoly capitalism, into imperialism, is accompanied by a growth of the labor aristocracy. This process began in England before imperialism had come to Europe. For a long time the English bourgeoisie had an industrial and colonial monopoly which permitted it to corrupt the upper levels of the proletariat. The pre-war period of imperialism is characterized by the domination of opportunism and reformism in the labor movement. During the World War, opportunism was transformed into social-chauvinism. *In the period of the general crisis of capitalism, opportunism and reformism have changed into social-fascism.*

However, it is precisely the general crisis of capitalism which determines that "opportunism cannot now have sway in the labor movement of any country for a long series of decades, as did English opportunism in the second half of the 19th century; but it has passed its final ripening, it has rotted and putrified in a whole series of countries, where it integrated with bourgeois politics in the form of social-chauvinism". (Lenin.) In the period of the general crisis of capitalism, and especially after the October victory, social democracy—the main social support of the bourgeoisie—transformed into social-fascism, seeks more and more for the opportunity to decoy the masses, while Bolshevism strengthens itself and conquers new positions.

Fascism is an open and bloody form of bourgeois dictatorship which has for its aim the destruction of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, that is to say, the Communist strata of the proletariat, its fighting forces and its leadership. Once arrived at power, Fascism reveals itself as an open terrorist dictatorship of big capital. At the same time it continues to use certain methods of social and national demagogy, designed to keep the petty bourgeois strata of the

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population, and some of the strata of the working class, under the fascist banner.

Such is the meaning of fascism.

The strengthening of reaction and the maturation of fascism have occured at an accelerated pace in the third period of post-war imperialism, as was indicated by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The strengthening of reaction and the maturation of fascism have reached large proportions, especially in the period of the peace-time economic crisis, which has led to the aggravation and intensification of all the contradictions inherent in imperialism, and to the *revolutionary upsurge* of the masses. The end of the relative stabilization of capitalism, the *transition* to a new cycle of wars and revolutions, concurrent with the universally significant victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., have thrust the capitalist crisis into a new stage. Under these conditions, the bourgeoisie, while still making use of social-fascism, its main social support, promulgates fascism, especially in those countries where the class struggle has become highly acute, where the situation is very revolutionary, and where the danger of revolution is most immediate.

The exterior forms of fascism differ in all countries. What they have most in common are the forms of agitation and propaganda of the fascist parties, a national and social demagogy. *Fascism in its "specific" form carries out the policies of the financial oligarchy, of the bankers, and of the big land owners in countries where there is an extensive agriculture.* The class situation of the urban as well as the rural petty bourgeoisie predisposes them to be receptive to nationalistic demagogy. The Versailles system, which brought about an intensification of national oppression, created a favorable basis for a nationalist demagogy. Although the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry are robbed by finance capital, fascism tries to conquer these by hurling forth demagogic slogans and by making a petty bourgeois criticism of finance capital. Fascism tries to oppose the doctrine of class struggle, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with its own ideology of national unity, of the identity of interests of all classes in the nation, of harmonious co-operation of all these classes, of a corporate State as the incorporation of the superiority of the Nordic Germanic races and the Aryan mission to dominate other races (in Germany), and of the negation of class struggle. One of its principal slogans is: "Down with Marxism!"

Once arrived at power and stabilized, fascism "loses its anti-capitalist tinsel" (*Program of the C. I.*). What is common to the fascist movements in all countries is that it creates, alongside of the apparatus of physical violence which assures bourgeois dominance, armed detachments of picked men, for struggle against the revolu-

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tionary proletariat; once in power, it consolidates them with the regular machinery of force of bourgeois control.

Fascism does not oppose social-democracy, that is social-fascism. Fascism and social-fascism are "not opposite poles, but twin brothers". (Stalin)

The relations between fascism and social-fascism are determined by concrete circumstances. Counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, as well as the renegades of the Right, assert that fascism and social-fascism are mutually exclusive. Trotsky, as well as Thalheimer, have fought, and fight relentlessly against qualifying the present social-democracy as "social-fascism". They see in this an "exaggeration", a "calumny", etc. By this they only express the fact that they themselves are an organic part of the social-fascist camp.

In Bulgaria the social-fascists were a legal party during the whole period of fascist dictatorship.

In Hungary, the social-fascists participated for a while in the fascist government, and the social-democratic party and reformist trade unions still exist there legally.

In Poland, Pilsudski founded his fascist dictatorship with the open support of the Polish Socialist Party. The same thing occured in Rumania, in Yugoslavia, in Finland.

In Austria, social-fascism and the reformist trade unions have adapted themselves well enough to the fascist dictatorship of the Dollfuss government.

Thus the victory of fascism need not mean the complete and necessary prohibition of social-fascist parties. In Italy, the fascists prohibited the socialist parties and liquidated the reformist unions only after many Italian socialist leaders had entered into the State apparatus (D'Aragona and others). In Germany, the fascists prohibited the reformist unions and the Social-Democratic Party in spite of the fact that the social-fascists had offered their services to fascism by all possible means, had voted for the government in the Reichstag. In Italy and in Germany fascism prohibited the reformist unions primarily because the working masses were becoming more and more convinced of the correctness of the Communist views. In these countries, the reformist unions, in spite of their social-fascist leaders, could have become a vast field of action for the mass work of the Communists. Thus, the policy of fascism toward social-fascism is determined by the concrete situation.

Fascism and social-fascism have in *common*, that they are both for capitalism, that they both defend it and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They have in common also that both, at the moment of greatest tension of the revolutionary struggles, use the most cruel

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methods of the bourgeois dictatorship against the activities of the proletariat and of the colonial toilers.

However, it goes without saying that there is a *difference* between fascism and social-fascism. Fascism tries to find its social base in the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie, although it also tries to penetrate the ranks of the workers; social-fascism bases itself primarily on the labor aristocracy, though it also attempts to attract to its side the petty-bourgeois masses. In Italy and in Germany fascism supported and still supports itself on the rural petty-bourgeoisie; at the same time, in establishing its organizations in the country-side, it supports itself primarily on the kulaks and landlords. Fascism declares itself for an open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, although it utilizes the remains of bourgeois parliamentarism. Social-fascism declares itself rather for the democratic methods of bourgeois dictatorship, but this does not exclude and even presupposes the use of open physical force in the moments of sharp aggravation of the class struggle. Fascism aspires to a monopoly over the bourgeois State apparatus; although it does not shrink from momentary coalitions in the other bourgeois parties, and, under certain conditions, from coalition with social-fascist parties (Bulgaria, Hungary). Social-fascism aspires to an open or disguised coalition with the bourgeois parties, although it does not shrink from forming purely social-democratic governments with which it serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. These differences have a definite political meaning, which must be carefully taken into account.

Fascism expresses most resolutely the tendency to muster all the different fractions of the ruling class against the proletariat, thus setting the whole capitalist class and its State power against the proletarian masses. But this orientation toward mustering the whole capitalist class does not mean that fascism can put an end to the dissensions and conflicts within the bourgeois camp, or even to stop the conflicts between the different groups of the financial oligarchy. Fascism's tendency to rally the different fractions of the ruling class appears in various forms according to the concrete conditions in the different countries.

In Hungary, in Bulgaria, in Poland, fascism has effected a fascist dictatorship, though it is far from having liquidated the old bourgeois parties. In Rumania the fascist military dictatorship has been effected by the old bourgeois parties. In Yugoslavia the fascist military dictatorship has liquidated the old bourgeois parties. In Italy fascism has absorbed to a certain degree one of the parties of the big bourgeoisie and the country gentry (the nationalist party), and it has liquidated the other parties of the bourgeoisie—the populists, the liberals, the democrats. In Germany, as in Italy, the national-social-

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ists have liquidated all the old bourgeois parties; the old bourgeois parties have dissolved of themselves automatically, and the national socialists seized all the mass organizations of the bourgeois parties, with the aim of unifying them. The crisis is only so much more acute, as the tendency of fascism, rallying together the different fractions of the bourgeoisie, even at the price of liquidating the old parties, the tendency to end disputes, disagreements, and conflicts within the camps of the fascist bourgeoisie, shows itself more determined. The formation of a special fascist party before the seizure of power by the fascists is not a necessary condition for the foundation of the fascist dictatorship. In Poland, in Yugoslavia, in Rumania, in Hungary, there were no mass fascist organizations before the foundation of the fascist dictatorship.

In Germany, where fascism is unleashed, one of the forms of fascist dictatorship was established before the direct participation of the national-socialists in the governments of the Reich, for the governments of Von Papen and Schleicher constituted a form of fascist dictatorship. In Austria, the Dollfuss government is carrying out a fascist dictatorship, while opposing the national socialists, and supporting itself on the Christian-Socialist party, which once stood for bourgeois democracy.

The German and Italian social-fascists appraise fascism as a dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie. The Austro-Marxists, including Bauer, believe that the power of the national-socialists is a dictatorship of the petty-bourgeoisie. Hitler's government has not been slow to unmask these petty social-fascist theories by its acts. Bolshevism appraises fascism as a dictatorship of finance-capital which makes use of the petty bourgeoisie, etc. The experiences of Italy, Germany, Poland, etc., have altogether confirmed the position of the C.I. The position of the Second International sometimes seeps into the Communist ranks, by winning over opportunists and hesitant elements. The theory of the German comrade Herzen, according to which German fascism is a dictatorship of the Lumpen-proletariat, reflects the influence of social-fascist theories. The renegades from Communism, Brandler and Thalheimer, have put forth a theory that German fascism is a kind of Bonapartism. Counter-revolutionary Trotskyism has adopted this appraisal with certain modifications. Preobrazhensky thinks that fascism creates a new type of State, and thereby he recognizes the fascist assertion that the corporate State differs fundamentally from the bourgeois State, though he arrives at this by another path. Opportunist theories have appeared, which state that fascism is a special type of new system, a special new regime of bourgeois society, that fascism is a new era in the development of imperialism. The social demagogy of the

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fascists has been understood by some comrades to be an anti-capitalist tendency, (comrade Neumann), and the advance of fascism has been regarded as a success for the anti-capitalist tendencies of the masses. Even further, profoundly opportunistic and dangerous ideas have spread, regarding fascism as a necessary stage on the way to revolution, and regarding the victory of fascism as a necessary occurrence in all the decisive countries, asserting that the proletariat cannot seize power except by passing through the hell of fascist dictatorship. This fatalist and opportunist theory has found its complement and its consequence in the theory that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be arrived at automatically after the dictatorship of fascism. The Communist International has condemned and rejected these opportunist theories.

In Germany, the appearance and the development of fascism were brought about by the general conditions indicated in the program of the C.I.: "The instability of capitalist relationships, the presence of important declassed elements, the pauperization of wide strata of the petty-bourgeoisie and of intellectuals, the discontent of the rural petty-bourgeoisie and the continual threat of mass proletarian demonstrations." The Versailles treaty created conditions peculiarly favorable for the development of the most reactionary nationalism and of chauvinism, which were artificially capitalized by fascism for its own ends. The world economic crisis, the aggravated struggle among the imperialist powers for markets, for raw materials, and for economic territories, the breaking up of the unity of the world market of trade and capital—all this facilitated still further the exaltation of nationalism and chauvinism by the fascists. Undeceived with regard to the political betrayal of social-fascism, which had been in power for years and had betrayed the interests of the workers, large masses of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, a considerable part of the peasantry, and even some of the most backward strata of the proletariat (part of the agricultural workers) and the most desperate and declassed strata of the workers (part of the unemployed, especially young workers who had not passed through the school of class struggle and were without hope of finding work), threw themselves into the arms of fascism. The split within the working class which was caused by social-democracy's policy of betrayal played a large role in the development of German fascism. The divided working class could not draw into its struggle against the bourgeoisie the essential intermediate strata (the petty bourgeoisie, the white-collar workers, the intellectuals, the government employees), and the bourgeoisie subjected these to itself through fascism; thus, in the struggle for allies, the bourgeoisie succeeded at this stage in beating the proletariat. The entire policy of

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social-democracy during the war and in the post-war period consisted in clearing the path for fascism.

German fascism has not come to power as did Italian fascism, on a rising wave of commercial prosperity, but under conditions of increasing economic crisis. In struggle against the economic crisis, German fascism develops only the war industries, preparing itself feverishly for war. Italian fascism came to power in a country which was a victor in the world war, even though the Italian bourgeoisie felt angered at being imposed on by the treaty of Versailles. Germany is a vanquished country, oppressed by the treaty of Versailles, disarmed, deprived of its colonies, ruined by the reparations, a country located in the center of Europe, at the center of the imperialist contradictions. German fascism came to power in a country where the specific weight of the proletariat is enormous, where the proletariat has passed through a serious schooling in class struggle and where there is the most powerful Communist Party in the capitalist world, a tested and Bolshevized party.

The differences, the conflicts, the struggle within fascism itself, which reflect the colliding interests of the different groups of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, have in no sense been removed. German fascism came to power in a country oppressed by the treaty of Versailles. These difficulties of economic, political, and international nature create *complementary* difficulties for the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

It is plain that once Hitler was in power he did not even think of realizing the promises given by the national-socialist party for the purposes of social demagogy. The increase of import tariffs has brought about a rise in the cost of living from which the kulaks benefit to an infinitesimal degree, while the wholesale traders are the ones who profit. The working class, the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and the decisive masses of the peasantry pay dearly for the economic policies of fascism. But large capital receives millions of marks in subsidies, under the pretext of fighting unemployment. Bestial anti-semitism, burning of books, a wave of chauvinism, bloody propaganda for a new war to re-establish the former position of German imperialism, a mad racial arrogance, the violent stifling of all free thought, even for the bourgeoisie, by barbaric methods—these characterize the ideological baggage of fascism in power. *But the real content of the policies of German fascism consists in waging a civil war against the proletariat, in preparing for a new imperialist war, and in generously offering its services as a battering-ram for military intervention against the U.S.S.R.*

German fascism enters the field of international politics primarily as the defender of military intervention against the U.S.S.R.,

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and it asks for relaxation of the Versailles treaty in exchange for its fight against the land of the Soviets. It hopes to realize the aims of German imperialism in the world imperialist war, but primarily it comes forward as the battering-ram of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. It is by means of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. that it hopes to take its "revenge" on French imperialism, to reconquer colonies, in short, to partition the world in the interests of German imperialism.

Fascism in Germany, as well as in other countries, has taken as its chief task the liquidation of the independent working-class organizations, the destruction of the revolutionary vanguard, the physical extermination of the militant revolutionary workers, the annihilation of the German Communist Party.

German fascism has not been able to, and cannot, perform its main task. The Communist Party of Germany holds the breach. German social-fascism actually supports the Hitler government.

Wels has stated his complete agreement with Hitler's foreign policy, the socialist fraction of the Reichstag has voted for Hitler, the reformist leaders have offered their services to the "Third Reich" in every possible way. Social-fascism has recently costumed itself in the mantle of "opposition" against fascism, has spoken of "revolution" against Hitler, has launched the slogan of "realizing democracy through the realization of socialism", etc. Breitscheid, Wels, and the other leaders of German social-fascism do not even disguise the fact that this change of tactics has been with a view to preventing the victory of proletarian dictatorship, in case fascism is abolished.

The German Communist Party organizes, rallies, teaches the working masses, directs the struggle against fascism and prepares for the abolition of the fascist dictatorship, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in general. It prepares the abolition of capitalism. It conducts the struggle against the "Third Reich", for a Soviet Germany.

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Soviet China in Danger

I.

DEFEND SOVIET CHINA AGAINST IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

CHIANG Kai Shek and other counter-revolutionary hangmen have assembled armies of more than 400,000 men on the borders of the young Chinese Soviet Republic, especially of its central district in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, and Hunan. The heroic Red Armies of the workers and peasants of Soviet China have already repulsed the mercenaries of the Kuomintang in five campaigns. In these campaigns, the Reds have developed into a powerful revolutionary army of the people. Now the *sixth campaign* against Soviet China is taking place. Military operations, the campaign of annihilation against the peaceful proletarian and peasant population, against the petty bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intelligentsia, have already been going on since September, 1933. The Kuomintang hangmen hope to destroy the workers' and peasants' republic of China in this way. But during this sixth campaign the heroically fighting proletariat and peasantry of China, who have created the workers' and peasants' Soviets, are again performing wonders of heroism and of strategy of revolutionary warfare. A storm of popular indignation arose throughout Soviet China and its border districts, against the extermination campaign of the Kuomintang hangmen. Men and women, young and old, even children, have flocked about the Red Armies, to protect to the last breath the freedom which has been achieved, the land that has been won, and the new life—worthy of humanity—which has been attained on Soviet soil. The heroism of the Chinese Red Armies, the military genius of the army commanders under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, can be compared only to the heroic deeds of the Red Army during the Civil War in Russia.

The leaders of the Chinese Red Army—Chu Teh, Mao Tse Tung, Peng Teh Hwei, Chou Ong Lai, Ho Lung, Hsu Hsiang Chan, Fang Chi Ming, Kung Ho Chung—have inscribed their names on the honor roll of history forever, as fighters for freedom and as military commanders, by their heroic military exploits.

The sixth counter-revolutionary campaign against Soviet China differs from previous anti-Soviet wars carried on by the Kuomin-

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tang in that *this campaign was prepared and is carried out with the immediate assistance of the international imperialist counter-revolution.*

This immediate participation of the imperialist powers in the financial and military preparations for Chiang Kai Shek's sixth campaign, which they perform in united front despite their devouring contradictions, the participation of their military forces in carrying out its operations, is dictated by the fact that Soviet China and its Red Army have shown themselves to be invincible in the preceding five campaigns: *the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang was unable to defeat the revolution in China.* It is dictated by the fact that the policies and the successes of the Chinese Soviet Republic have already made the interests of the Chinese Soviets *the interests of the broad masses of the entire Chinese nation,* which draw from this energy for the struggle against the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang and imperialistic oppression. It is dictated by the tremendous revolutionary influence of the Chinese Soviets on the entire colonial and semi-colonial world, on Indo-China, India, etc., who learn from the example of the Chinese Soviets to struggle against both native and imperialistic exploiters. It is dictated by the fact that the shattering of Soviet China is a necessary condition for the redivision of China by world imperialism and its complete colonial subjection, as well as a great blow dealt against the proletarian world revolution.

There has been formed on one-sixth of the gigantic territory of China—even if not in a single compact area—a Soviet Republic, and in this republic a genuinely popular government. The Soviet government, the government of the Chinese workers, of peasants, of the poor in town and country, under the hegemony of the proletariat and under the iron leadership of the Communist Party of China, has been able to solve the greatest social problems of China, especially the agrarian problem, in favor of the broad masses of the peasantry, through distribution of the land. It has introduced the 8-hour day, it has created the basis for the cultural advance of the great masses of the people, it has assured these masses of work and livelihood. Thus the Chinese Soviet Republic has become a basis for the unfolding of the agrarian revolution in China, a stronghold for the *national* emancipation of China and an outpost and central point in the *anti-imperialist* struggle in the entire colonial and semi-colonial Orient. Soviet China stands for the unity of China, against its dismemberment. The policy of dividing China, as carried out by international imperialism, the policy of organizing a new imperialist war, meets in Soviet China the only obstacle which is capable of organizing the struggle for the freedom, for the independence of China.

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It is no accident that the Soviet area of China has become a point of attack for the predatory imperialistic powers, the United States, Japan, England, and France. Even German imperialism announces its claim to a share in the booty, and sends its fascist mercenaries into the field against Soviet China.

The financial preparation for the sixth campaign of the Kuomintang armies against Soviet China was organized primarily by the United States. The so-called wheat-and-cotton-loan, which the United States government placed at the disposal of the Nanking government, was—as even Chinese newspapers have stated—a *war loan* in preparation for the sixth campaign against Soviet China. The 50 million dollars of this loan have not given a scrap of clothing to a single half-naked Chinese coolie, nor guaranteed a piece of bread to a single starving Chinese peasant. The 50 million dollars of the American loan were spent for weapons, munitions, airplanes, and the means of chemical warfare against the Chinese workers and peasants. The Nanking government is receiving other loans besides this from the United States, and uses them likewise in buying the implements of murder, to carry on war.

The English imperialists are not content with having mobilized the armies of the Cantonese clique of generals for an attack upon the central Soviet districts from the south, and with the organization of a campaign by an imperialistic army from Tibet against other Soviet territory. In Sze-chwan, where the Soviet revolution was advancing triumphantly, the principal agent of English imperialism in China, Miles Lampson, united the mutually warring generals' cliques by bribery, so that they would conduct a war against the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army and against the anti-tax movement of the revolting people.

Japanese imperialists also join in the intervention. They want no Soviet China in the rear of their armies, which are preparing in the north of China to begin the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union in the Far East.

The league of imperialist robber States, the League of Nations, has sent a commission to China, which stands at the disposal of the Nanking government as "technical aid", and is actually used for the purposes of counter-revolutionary war against Soviet China.

High officers from Hitler-Germany *worked out the military plans of the sixth campaign.* General Seeckt, the "conqueror" of Saxony and Thuringia in 1923, former head of the Reichswehr, led the preliminary work in conjunction with two other German generals, Wetzel and Kriebel; 70 *officers of the German general staff* are participating in the conduct of operations.

One hundred and fifty American and Canadian pilots and un-

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counted officers are taking part in the air warfare and in the chemical warfare against Soviet China.

In Fukien, where the Red People's Army broke through the front of the Nineteenth Army of the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary mercenary forces, where the movements of the Soviet armies and the uprising of the local population threatened the port cities of Fu-chow and Amoy, Italian battleships set themselves ready in the harbors, alongside the American, Japanese, and British flotillas, to batter down the revolutionary soldiers, the revolting workers and peasants.

Where the counter-revolutionaries of the imperialist countries are joined with the troops of the Kuomintang counter-revolution, the representatives of the Second International, the representatives of social-fascism, cannot fail to be present. If Vandervelde has already served as protector of Chiang Kai Shek in the Second International, if Eddo Fimmen, the leader of the reformist international of transport workers, has already served as stool-pigeon for the Kuomintang hangman, then now Grzesinski, former social-democratic police-president and once Minister of the Interior for Prussia, and Bernard Weiss, his assistant in the murder of workers and the business of provocation, are on their way to China, to make safe with their policing the counter-revolutionary hinterland of the counter-revolutionary front of intervention.

Weapons, cannon, tanks, airplanes, munitions, and chemicals for the *armies of intervention* are being loaded in the ports of the United States, Germany, France, and other countries. *An internationalist imperialist conspiracy against the growing power of the young Chinese Soviet Republic, which is to guarantee the imperialists a rich booty by the division of China, is in progress.*

The Kuomintang murderers, defeated already in five campaigns, would not be able to organize a sixth campaign of such magnitude against the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic of China, without the support of the imperialist powers, without their weapons, airplanes, munitions, and other implements of modern military technique, without the loans of the money-markets of the principal cities of the imperialist countries, without their ships, their generals, their staff-officers, their pilots and other mercenaries.

The sixth campaign for the destruction of the Chinese Soviets, for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie, undertaken by the Kuomintang after repeated defeats, requires of the workers and toilers of all the countries of Europe, America and Asia, and especially of the workers of the imperialist countries, who are directly or indirectly involved in the campaign against Soviet China, that they perform their

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simple duty to their Chinese brothers, to the masses of the Chinese people. They must remember more than ever that their Chinese brothers are being murdered by the weapons, munitions, and poison gases which the hands of American and European workers create and load on ships.

The call for help of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic must not remain without a wide echo, which should be *translated into acts.*

"Help us in the struggle against those who would hurl us back into an inhuman existence, who would take our lives! The international imperialists have decided to drown the Soviet revolution of the Chinese people in blood. They are concentrating their fleets and their military forces at the borders of the Soviet districts of China. *They set these forces into action first against us, in order afterward to begin the war among themselves, the new imperialist World War, from which all mankind will suffer.*"

Though the leaders of the Second International and the Amsterdam International repeat that this is a war that does not concern European and American workers, though the counter-revolutionary appendage of the social-fascist international, Mr. Trotsky, goes on insultingly calling the Chinese Red Armies "red bandits" — the danger which threatens the European and American proletariat in the military intervention against Soviet China is clearly shown in the call of the Central Committee. The forces which the imperialist powers gather in the Far East against Soviet China will begin one day to shoot at each other, and then the bloody new world war can start!

The Communist Parties must not forget the duty which was laid upon them, at Lenin's suggestion, in the conditions of acceptance into the Communist International. The fourteenth point of these conditions of acceptance reads:

> "14. Every party that desires to belong to the Communist International must give every possible support to the Soviet republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of the Soviet Republics, carry on legal or illegal propaganda among the troops which are sent to crush the workers' republics, etc."

To fulfill this duty, the Communist Parties must carry to the *broadest masses* the words of the call of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, which are directed to the toilers of the entire world. *They must conduct not only agitation, but they must also organize actions directed against the transportation of weapons and munitions to China, against the intervention of American, European, and Asiatic imperialists.*

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Against the league of capitalist robbers of the entire world the workers will set their league—the league of brotherly solidarity of the workers of all lands, in order, in accordance with the call of the Chinese Soviets for help, to defend the Chinese Soviet Republic and themselves against the oppressors and exploiters of the Chinese people, against their own oppressors and exploiters.

The defense of the Chinese Soviets is the defense of the world proltarian revolution.

II

THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SIXTH COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGN AND THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

By WAN MING

THE sixth counter-revolutionary campaign against the Chinese Soviet Republic differs from the preceding campaigns in the following respects:

The *first* and most important difference is that the plan of the campaign, the intervention of the international imperialists (America, Japan, England, France, Germany and others) against the Chinese Soviet Republic, has been worked out with greater frankness, more nakedly, with greater energy and solidarity. All the other differences result from this most important one.

The *second difference* is that in this campaign the various groups of Kuomintang generals have demonstrated a greater solidarity and activity in carrying out the plans for the military operations. Although, for example, the actual military operations in the periods of the first, second, third, and fifth campaigns were carried out chiefly by the Nanking army of Chiang Kai-shek's group, and in the period of the fourth campaign by the Nanking-Canton groups, the military operations against the central Soviet district (in the provinces Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Fukien, Hunan, and Chekiang) at the beginning of the sixth campaign are being participated in with relative equality by the armies of Chiang Kai-shek, Chen Tsi-tan, Tsai Ting-kai, and others. During the fifth campaign a fight broke out at the time of the most intense battling among the several groups of generals in the province of Szechwan, which forced them to withdraw their armies (then holding positions against the Red Army in the western part of the provinces of Honan and Hopei) into Szechwan. At the beginning of the sixth campaign, however, the Szechwan generals Liu Hsiang, Liu Wen Hwei, etc., all made ef-

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forts to limit or even to stop these mutual quarrels, in order to realize the so-called plan of "restoring order" in Szechwan, and the fight against the Communists.

The third difference is that the military plan of the sixth campaign is, according to the proposal of the German fascist General Seeckt, a coordination of two plans, to wit: the "Tsenkofan plan" (whose main content is an appeal to the principal parties involved, the imperialists, for greater support, and the organization of the landowners and village kulaks into fighting troops), which was used during the fourth and fifth campaigns; and the plan of the English imperialists, modeled after the example of the suppression of the armed uprising of the South African natives (the chief content of this plan being the gradual erection of fortified camps, squeezing the rebels into a small space, where they are to be completely annihilated with all the means of modern war technique). The main aim of this latest war plan for carrying out the sixth campaign is to take possession of the Soviet territory step by step, forcing the Red Army, the partisan divisions, the masses of workers and peasants, and all the revolutionary toiling masses of the Soviet districts, into a small territory, in order to exterminate them there with gas, airplanes, artillery, and bombs. The slogan put forward by Chiang Kai-shek, "three phases of a six-month campaign," is the embodiment in practice of this new plan of warfare. These three phases of the six-month campaign are: two months of "reconnoitering" (*i.e.*, surrounding the Soviet territory from all sides and gradually possessing it); two months of "offensive" (*i.e.*, carrying out a concentrated attack from all sides, if the reconnoitering is successful); and two months of "cleaning up" (*i.e.*, extermination of all women, old men and children, in the Soviet districts, if the offensive is successful).

The *fourth feature* of the campaign is the strengthening of the military technique. Although airplanes and heavy cannon were formerly the strongest weapons with which the imperialists furnished the immediate executioners, the Kuomintang armies and the Kuomintang generals, now the American, English, Japanese, French, German, and other imperialists equip the Kuomintang war lords, in addition, with the means of chemical warfare and with tanks; American and Canadian airmen, German chemists, engineers, generals, social-democratic leaders, etc., are participating directly in the military operations against the Red Army and the Soviet population.

The American, English, Japanese, French, German and other imperialists are expending more energy in carrying out the sixth campaign, and are exhibiting greater solidarity and a bestial cruelty. The outstanding reason is the powerful development and fortifica-

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tion of the Red Army and the Chinese Soviets, as a result of their victory in the fifth campaign, while the agents of international imperialism, the Kuomintang generals, show more and more their inability to fulfill their duty to their imperialist masters, "to maintain peace and quiet". Furthermore, the enormous accentuation of the contradictions among the imperialist robbers leads them to hasten the destruction of the Chinese Soviet Republic—which genuinely fights against the dismemberment of China, against imperialist war, against attack on the Soviet Union, for the national and social emancipation of the Chinese people and the oppressed toiling masses of the entire Orient. The drive for the destruction of the Chinese Soviets is motivated by the designs for beginning sooner the new imperialist war, which will plunge mankind into monstrous sufferings and sacrifice.

The victory of the Chinese Soviet Republic against the sixth counter-revolutionary campaign will therefore be of enormous significance, not only for the further development of the revolutionary struggle of the millions of toilers in the Chinese Soviet territories and the hundreds of millions of the people of China, but not less for the liberation struggle of the proletariat and the toilers of the entire world.

The Communist Party of China, which led the heroic struggle of defense against the fifth campaign, at the head of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Red Army, has again worked out a correct Bolshevist tactic for the struggle against the sixth campaign, and is carrying it through. Before all else, the Communist Party of China, in its plan of struggle against the sixth campaign, exposes to the broadest masses of the Chinese people the role of the Kuomintang and of its various military-bureaucratic governments, as the agents of the imperialist States and as the executioners of the Chinese people. The Communist Party of China mobilizes the activity of the great masses of the people for the support of the Soviet government and the Red Army of China, the only power and the only army able to fight for the political independence of China and for its national emancipation. On the military side, the Red Army of China, with the Communist Party of China at its head, has worked out a strategy and a tactic which will make a victory over this new Kuomintang campaign possible. The Communist Party of China is at the same time developing an energetic campaign for the mobilization of the starving millions, the flood victims, the workers, peasants, soldiers, and revolutionary intelligentsia of Kuomintang-China, for a revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and against the Kuomintang, and it combines the various forms of revolutionary struggle by the masses of the people

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in the Kuomintang districts with the military operations of the Red Army and of the toiling masses of the Soviet territories. With the help of its brother parties, especially those in imperialist countries, the Chinese Communist Party will succeed in forming an international revolutionary United Front of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the entire world, against the counter-revolutionary united front of the international imperialists and the Kuomintang-militarists.

The struggle against the sixth counter-revolutionary campaign is a difficult and complex task. But we are convinced that the final victory will belong to the Chinese Soviet Republic.

This conviction rests above all on the fact that the millions of the toiling masses of the Chinese people are without any doubt on the side of their government and their army, the Soviet government and the Red Army, and they will rise in active struggle against the Kuomintang government, which shamefully betrayed the three northeast provinces (*i.e.*, Manchuria), the provinces of Jehol, Chahar, Tibet, Chuan-pien, and nine Chinese islands to the imperialists, which surrenders Peiping, Tientsin and the entire north of China to the Japanese conquerors without a shot, and at the same time mobilizes its armies for the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people; it rests on the fact that the millions of the Chinese masses will rise actively in struggle against imperialism, which wishes to perpetuate its mastery in China and the enslavement of the Chinese people.

III

LETTER OF SEN KATAYAMA TO HENRI BARBUSSE AND ROMAIN ROLLAND

Dear Comrades:

While Hitler's fascist dictatorship in Germany is exposing its weakness, by increasing its crimes and its mass murders against the workers throughout Germany, the Leipzig comic-trial staged by it is showing even more plainly all the weakness and the falsehood of the fascist dictatorship. At the same time, the Communist Party of Germany demonstrates its power and its influence; it leads the heroic struggle of the German workers; and the proletariat of the whole world sets itself the task of saving Comrades Thaelmann, Torgler, and the other comrades. The comic-trial against the Communists will finally disclose the falsehood of the entire charge, and will contribute to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. We must strengthen the activity of our International Committee for Struggle Against War and Fascism, and conduct the most decisive

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struggle for the defense of the innocent victims of fascist justice.

Dear comrades! I want to turn your attention to another counter-revolutionary action, against which a world-wide campaign must be begun. I mean the sixth campaign against the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army, which is this time well prepared, and has been begun by Chiang Kai-shek with the active support of American and English imperialism. Japanese imperialism, dripping with blood, has given Chiang Kai-shek a free hand for this dirty work by concluding a truce. This truce made it possible for Chiang Kai-shek to concentrate his troops against the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army, whose power and influence are constantly increasing. The Chinese Red Army opposed Chiang Kai-shek's five previous punitive expeditions with an annihilating resistance; the Soviet power has spread to new territories. Nevertheless, Chiang Kai-shek's present expedition must by no means be underestimated; for this time the bloodthirsty hangman of counter-revolution has prepared himself better and is supported on all sides by the imperialist robbers in China.

The Chinese revolution is thereby threatened with the greatest danger. Our International Committee for Struggle Against War and Fascism must organize a world-wide struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, which will be at the same time a campaign against war and against fascism. I give a few facts and reasons, which must move us to organize an international campaign against the Nanking government and Chiang Kai-shek, against these lackeys of foreign imperialism and the enemies of the Chinese workers and peasants.

1. Predatory Japanese imperialism, arch-enemy of the Chinese workers and peasants, has made a comedy-truce with Chiang Kai-shek. I call this truce a comedy, because Japan has reserved the right to enlarge its army of occupation and to fortify its positions. But this truce enabled Chiang Kai-shek to undertake the sixth campaign against the "Reds", which is better prepared this time and is supported by American and English imperialists.

The Japanese imperialists know very well that they cannot realize their bloodthirsty plans while the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army endure, grow, and are strengthened.

Every day, Japanese imperialism in China enters into sharper contradiction with American and English imperialism. But all are inspired by an equal hatred of the growing strength of the Soviet Union, although their immediate aim is the division of China. Therefore the bloody Mikado conducts negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek, counter-revolutionary and betrayer of the Chinese people, while he strengthens his positions in Manchuria, Mongolia, and North China.

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2. The United States has recently set itself against Japan, by extending to the Nanking government a loan, in accordance with its traditional dollar-diplomacy. It gave Nanking the so-called wheat-loan of $50,000,000, and credits for the purchase of American airplanes to the amount of $40,000,000. Most of Chiang Kai-shek's pilots are Americans. Only a short time ago the United States sent the Nanking government 150 bombing planes specially for the sixth campaign against the Soviets. Nanking has also just received a great many poison-gas bombs from the United States. All these facts show how much the United States is interested in strengthening the military power of Chiang Kai-shek for his campaign against the Chinese revolution. It wants to help him under the pretense of organizing resistance against the Japanese imperialists, and hopes thereby to assure itself of a big slice in the division of China.

3. England has not looked on with folded arms. In the hope of getting that part of the Chinese territory which borders on India and North Tibet, as well as Sinkiang, English imperialism has lent 20,000,000 pounds sterling to the Szechwan militarist Liu Hsiang, for the fight against the Reds. The Chinese revolution has won strong positions in the province of Szechwan, and English imperialism is therefore interested in destroying the revolution, in order to extend its power over a part of China. English imperialism has already taken possession through its agents of a part of Tibet and Sinkiang; it is about to create the "independent" State of Hsipeikuo (the Northwest State); and is trying to organize an alliance of the seven southwest provinces.

4. French imperialism has taken possession of a string of coral islands, and is preparing to occupy part of the provinces of Kwangsi and Yunnan.

5. German imperialism provides Chiang Kai-shek with military advisers. At present more than 70 German military experts are helping Chiang Kai-shek in the organization of the sixth punitive expedition.

6. The League of Nations, with its so-called "Plan for the Technical Assistance of China", is actually helping the Nanking government in its fight against the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army.

Comrades! As you see, world-capitalism and world-imperialism are concentrating their forces and giving the Nanking government effective help, although the imperialists of each country are led to this by their own special, but equally dirty, plans. They are all equally interested in the suppression of the Chinese revolution, and all prepare themselves for the final division of China.

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I want to draw your attention to these serious facts, and beg you to organize against Chiang Kai-shek a campaign of international scope, which will be at the same time a campaign against the acts of English, American, Japanese imperialism in China. The matter permits no delay, for the Chinese Communists and the revolutionary workers are waging a heroic struggle against the overwhelming forces of Chiang Kai-shek and world-imperialism. To fight against Chiang Kai-shek is to fight against the fascism which is raging in Germany, for Hitler supports Chiang Kai-shek without reserve. All imperialists are interested in the fortification of fascism in China. The fascist movement is now taking on an international character, and we must support the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army, in order to strengthen our movement against war and fascism in this way. Sun Yat Sen's widow, Sun Tsi Lin, is fighting against Chiang Kai-shek in China, and we must support her heroic and dangerous struggle. I draw your attention to the fact that Chiang Kai-shek and his blue-shirts plan the murder of Sun Tsi Lin and many other revolutionaries.

Finally, comrades, I draw your attention to the present changes in the Japanese government, to its reorganization, to the resignation of Prime Minister Uzida and his substitution by Hirota, who is a friend of War Minister Araki and Marine Minister Osumi. Thus, we have in Japan a cabinet of warmongers. The latest changes in the Japanese cabinet bring military intervention even closer, and make the support of the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese revolutionary forces a task which absolutely cannot be put off, for in this way we also strengthen the movement for the defense of the Soviet Union.

In view of this situation, I earnestly request that you decide on the question of organizing a campaign against Chiang Kai-shek, and if you approve of it (which I do not doubt), that you immediately organize the campaign, and first of all propose to the International Anti-War Youth Congress to participate in it. The proletarian youth possesses inexhaustible revolutionary powers, and it will join in our struggle for the common aim, the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, the lackey of imperialism.

I turn to you, dear Comrades Barbusse and Rolland, and I beg you once again to begin at once to carry out this campaign, and—through the International Anti-War Youth Congress—to mobilize the youth of the entire world for participation in it.

With Communist greetings,

SEN KATAYAMA.

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IV

LETTER OF WAN MING TO HENRI BARBUSSE, ROMAIN ROLLAND, AND ALL THE DELEGATES OF THE ANTI-WAR CONGRESS OF YOUTH IN PARIS

Dear Comrades and Friends:

I turn to you heartily, in the name of millions of workers of my country, true and devoted fighters against war and against imperialism, to ask you to mobilize immediately the workers, peasants, and advanced intellectuals, and all who are really against war and imperialism, especially the youth, for an energetic mass struggle against the preparations of the imperialists for a new world war at the expense of the Chinese people, against the intervention of American, English, and Japanese imperialists in Soviet China, against the division of China by the imperialists.

Japanese imperialism, which has occupied Manchuria and the provinces of Jehol and Chahar, thanks to the traitorous capitulation of the Kuomintang and with the assistance of the group friendly to Japan, is now actively preparing to seize possession of the province of Hupei and the entire north of China. English imperialism, its hands dripping with blood, is energetically following its policy of occupying the northwest of China (Tibet, Chuan-pien, Szechwan, Sinkiang, and even a part of Yunnan) and of creating a Hsipeikuo (Northwest State), acting through the medium of the feudal lords of Tibet and with the help of the Kuomintang. American imperialism, which supports the Nanking government, is making all efforts to strengthen its position in the richest districts in the center of the country, and is fighting energetically to extend its sphere of influence all over China. The predatory war which was begun by Japan in Manchuria and in the north of China, the constant warfare among the various groups of Chinese militarists, which has just recently become even sharper—this is all a rehearsal for the coming imperialist war for the complete and final division of China and for hegemony on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean. Since the world situation is now extremely complex, the war of the Pacific will unavoidably grow into a world imperialist war, whose victims will be, not only the millions of Chinese toilers, but those of the entire world.

In order to avoid the danger of a world imperialist war, in order not to become cannon fodder for that war, in order to free themselves from a century-long enslavement, from the yoke of

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foreign capital and native landlords and capitalists, in order to win the elementary rights of national existence, national freedom, the Chinese people must follow, under the leadership of the working class, that path which has already been taken by the Soviet Union.

A Chinese Soviet Republic already exists on one-sixth of Chinese territory, headed by a Central Soviet Government and with its Red Army of workers and peasants. Despite the enormous sharpening of the contradictions which exist between them, the imperialists of all countries make a united front against Soviet China. The Kuomintang has already undertaken five military campaigns against the Soviets and the Red Army of China, within three years. Now it is opening the *sixth* campaign. It is clear that these military campaigns of the Kuomintang are actually an *armed intervention of the imperialists against the Chinese revolution.* In this sixth campaign, the role of the imperialists as organizers of armed intervention comes to expression more clearly than ever. For this campaign, *American* imperialism delivers to the Nanking troops 150 war planes, hundreds of pilots and technicians, warships, grenades, poison gas, and munitions. It grants a so-called wheat and cotton loan of fifty million American dollars. *English* imperialism grants Liu Hsiang, the military commander of Szechwan, a loan of twenty million pounds sterling, for the fight against the Red Army in that province. It delivers weapons and money to the Canton generals, and urges them to cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek against the Red Army in the provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien. The fascist *German* government has sent 70 of its military experts, headed by General von Seeckt, to Nanking. Chiang Kai-shek uses these experts in order to build a special section of his general staff for operations against the Red Army. The *League of Nations*, under the pretense of "technical aid" for the "economic restoration" of China, sends a commission to help the fight against Soviet China. All the ports and all large cities of China have in fact been occupied for some time by the naval forces, the infantry and the air forces of the imperialist countries. American fliers and other military experts of that "democratic" country, under the direction of fascist German generals and the hangmen and militarists of the Kuomintang, conduct a frightful air and chemical warfare against the people of China who are fighting imperialism, and against the young Red Army, which has no adequate technical equipment. Every day brings reports of new victims of air and gas attacks among the toilers of Soviet China. No fighter against imperialism and against war, above all no young one, can suffer longer these barbaric, inhuman, and criminal deeds of the imperialist robbers.

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I am firmly convinced that you will receive my plea with favor, and that you will begin at once the organization and direction of a powerful mass struggle for the defense of Soviet China, and of the Chinese people, against the division of China and against imperialist war.

Yours, with fraternal greetings,
WAN MING.

THE SIZE OF SOVIET CHINA

Total territory of Soviet China (stable and partisan areas) 1,348,180.5 square kilometers, which is 33.3% of China proper.

Total territory of the stable Soviet region, 621,256 square kilometers, which is 15.3% of China proper.

Size of other countries in comparison with the stable Soviet territory:

France ..... 88.6% of the stable Soviet district
Germany ..... 75.9% of the stable Soviet district
Japan ..... 61 % of the stable Soviet district
Great Britain ..... 23 % of the stable Soviet district

Size of the Central Soviet Region, 144,698 square kilometers.

Size of Great Britain, 99% of the Central Region.

Size of Czechoslovakia, 97% of the Central Region.

Size of the United Central, West-Fukien, and Northeast Kiangsi Regions, 449,798 square kilometers.

Size of Japan, 84.8% of this area.

Size of Italy, 69.3% of this area.

Size of the North Szechwan Soviet Region, 83,160 sq. km.

Size of Holland and Belgium together, 77.5% of the North Szechwan Soviet Region.

MARX' DECLARATION ON THE COMING UPRISINGS OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

". . . [The] next uprising of the nations of Europe and the next stage of their struggle for republican freedom and a more economic form of administration will most likely be much more dependent on what will take place today in the Celestial Empire—the direct opposite of Europe—than on any other existing political cause . . . Bearing in mind that British industry has already passed through a great part of its usual cycle, we can boldly prophesy that the Chinese revolution will give off the sparks into the greatly

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charged mine of the modern industrial system and will bring about the explosion prepared long ago by the general crisis which, when it spreads abroad, will be directly followed by political revolutions on the continent. China causing an upheaval in the western world will be a curious spectacle at the time that the western empires with the help of the British, French and American military vessels implant 'order' in Shanghai, Nanking, and at the mouths of the Grand Canal."— Marx, *Revolution in China and in Europe*, June 14, 1853.

MARX AND LENIN ON AVOIDING THE MISHAPS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

"It is asked now, can the Russian community, this already greatly destroyed form of primitive collective ownership of land, pass directly into the highest communist form of land ownership or must it, on the contrary, first pass through the same process of decay which the historical development of the West conditions?

"The only possible answer today to this question is the following. If the Russian revolution will serve as a signal to the workers' revolution in the West so that both will supplement each other, then the present Russian system of land ownership may be the point of departure of communist development. (Marx, Introduction to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, January 21, 1882.)

"If Russia continues along the path which it has gone along since 1861, then it will deprive itself of the most marvelous chance that history has ever offered any nation for avoiding all the mishaps of the capitalist system." (Marx, to the editorial offices of *Home Notes*, 1877.)

"Is it correct to assume that the development of capitalist economy is inevitable in those backward countries which are now liberating themselves and in which progressive movements have been started since the war? We answered this question in the negative. When the victorious revolutionary proletariat will carry on systematic propaganda, and the soviet governments will come to their assistance with all the means at their disposal, then it is wrong to presuppose that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for these backward nations. Not only must we form independent nuclei of party organizations in all the colonies and backward countries; not only must we carry on propaganda for the organization of peasant soviets and adapt them to pre-capitalist conditions, but the Communist International must declare and give the theoretical basis for its statement that with the help of the proletariat of the more advanced countries the backward nations can arrive at and pass over on to the soviet system and through certain stages of develop-

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ment on to communism, skipping over the capitalist stage of development." (Lenin, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920.)

STALIN ON THE NATIONAL-COLONIAL REVOLUTION UNDER NEW CONDITIONS

"It is more than likely that in the course of the development of the world revolution, there will come into existence—side by side with the foci of imperialism in the various capitalist lands and with the system of these lands throughout the world—foci of socialism in various Soviet countries, and a system of these foci throughout the world. As the outcome of this development, there will ensue a struggle between the rival systems, and its history will be the history of the world revolution. . . The world-wide significance of the October revolution lies not only in the fact that it was the first step taken by any country whatsoever to shatter imperialism, that it brought into being the first little island of socialism in the ocean of imperialism, but likewise in the fact that the October revolution is the first stage in the world revolution and has set up a powerful base whence the world revolution can continue to develop." (Stalin, "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Bolsheviks," *Leninism*, International Publishers, Vol. I, pp. 215, 216.)

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DeLeonism in the Light of Marxism-Leninism

By W. BURKE

(*Continued from the March issue*)

DE LEON failed to understand the role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class in the proletarian revolution. The full flowering of DeLeon's theory came after the organization of the I.W.W. It was at this time that he adopted his view that the main task of the S.L.P. was to "propagate the industrial union question". He did not understand that the task of the party of the working class is not only to propagate for the overthrow of wage slavery, but also to organize the struggles of the working class, lead it to the overthrow of capitalism, organize the dictatorship of the proletariat, and finally lead the proletariat and the working class in the construction of socialism and the liquidation of classes.

To confine the work of the Party to propaganda alone means to deny the role of the Party as the vanguard and organizer of the workers: it dooms the Party to a sectarian existence as a propaganda sect.

DeLeon considered that immediately following the overthrow of capitalism, either by "the trade union act" or by a "peaceful solution of the social question", the prolongation of the existence of the party a minute longer would be "usurpation". In his *Socialist Reconstruction of Society** DeLeon states:

> "Suppose that at some election, the class-conscious political arm of labor were to sweep the field; . . . suppose that, from the President down to Congress . . . our candidates were installed; suppose that, what would there be for them to do? *Simply to adjourn themselves on the spot sine die.* . . . The Political Movement of Labor that, in the event of triumph, would prolong its existence a second after triumph, would be usurpation." (Pp. 36-37—DeLeon's emphasis.)

The experiences of the Soviet Union show that after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie the class struggle does not disappear, as DeLeon and his followers would have us believe, but only changes in form. Only when classes have been abolished will the dictatorship

* Published by DeLeon under the title, *Preamble of the I.W.W.*

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of the proletariat be done away with, the State wither away, the Party's functions completed and likewise the Party dissolved.

PARTIAL DEMANDS

In the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, the question of minimum program, partial demands, linked up with the final aims of the proletariat, has great revolutionary significance. DeLeon, due to his sectarian blindness, failed to see the value of partial demands as stepping stones to bigger struggles of the workers. He considered it dangerous for the labor movement to struggle for and win partial demands from the capitalist class. To him all partial victories of the workers were but "banana peelings under the feet of the proletariat". "Not sops, but unconditional surrender of capitalism, is the battle cry of the Proletarian Revolution." (*Two Pages from Roman History*, p. 83.)

Such a formulation of this question is certainly not Marxian. To confine the work of the Party to the propagation of the final overthrow of capitalism, without mobilizing the workers for struggle against capitalism, is nothing less than the betrayal of the working class to the bourgeoisie. The task of the revolutionary party of the working class is to defend the every-day interests of the working class, but to do so in such a way that the workers will understand from their own experience, that only with the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of the working class will their interests be finally secured. "The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggles of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a *starting point* from which to *lead* the working class to the *revolutionary struggle for power*". (*C. I. Program.*)

ALLIES OF THE PROLETARIAT

In the struggles of the proletariat DeLeon considered it harmful and even destructive for the workers to seek allies. According to him, any alliance of the proletariat with the poor farmers and peasants of the countryside, not only in its big struggles, but even in its skirmishes, would spell inevitable defeat for the proletariat.

> "Proletarian Revolution must not only not seek, but must avoid, as it would a pestilence, all alliance with any other class in its struggles, or even in its skirmishes with the Capitalist Class." (*Two Pages from Roman History*, p. 79.)

The industrial proletariat cannot fulfill its historic mission if it isolates itself from the toiling population of the countryside. It must

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carry the class struggle into the agricultural districts, organizing the agricultural workers into class organizations and mobilizing the poor and the middle farmers in the struggle against the rich farmers, landlords, and finance capital. To DeLeon,

> "The agrarian or land question raises no economico-sociologic principles different from the economic or even sociologic principles raised by urban industry. . . . [A farmer] is a capitalist in agriculture." (*Fifteen Questions*, pp. 117, 120.)

The attitude of DeLeon to the agrarian question can well be compared with that of the leadership of the Second International. Lenin, writing about the relation of the Second International to the agrarian question, pointed out that the indifference of the Second International to the peasant question was not simply due to agrarian peculiarities in Western countries, but to their disbelief in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

> "The parties affiliated to the Second International, have as a rule, been indifferent to the peasant problem and have even been antagonistic to its discussion. This attitude has deeper reasons than the peculiarities of the agrarian conditions of Western Europe. The main reason is that these parties *do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat.*" (My emphasis.)

For DeLeon, the national and colonial question did not exist. While United States imperialism was conquering possessions in the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, the S.L.P. made no attempt to mobilize the American workers in support of these oppressed colonial people. The millions of nationally oppressed Negroes in the U. S. raised no separate problem for DeLeon.

Comrade Stalin, in giving the Leninist formulation on the national question, states that:

> "The victory of the working class in the advanced countries and the liberation of the oppressed nationalities from the imperialist yoke can only be effected by the formation and consolidation of a united revolutionary front."

DE LEON AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

We have shown above that DeLeonism represents a theory that is alien to Marxism, that it is a revision of Marxism, which cuts out all that is revolutionary in Marx, and in essence does not differ from the revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky & Co. We have already dealt with DeLeon's views on a number of fundamental problems of the proletarian revolution, now let us see how revolutionary is DeLeon's conception of the term "proletarian revolution". The

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Marxist understanding of it is that it is the highest form of class struggle; a struggle where force plays a decisive role. The history of all revolutions, and particularly of the proletarian revolutions, has taught us that the proletariat can win power only by forcibly overthrowing the bourgeoisie and that this proletarian power can only be maintained by crushing the resistance of, and disarming the bourgeoisie, arming the proletariat, and thus establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But this was not the viewpoint of DeLeon. His conception of a proletarian revolution was twofold. He entertained the Menshevist idea that the working class could win power through the ballot box; that the ballot box must be the court of first resort for the proletariat, and that only in case it fails must the working class be prepared for the court of second resort. The court of second resort is, of course, not the forceful overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but a declaration, through the trade unions, of a general lockout of the bourgeoisie. Tactical questions of the proletarian revolution, such as the general strike, as a prelude to an armed uprising: DeLeon considered it a "clumsy weapon".

In an editorial, "Russia in Revolution", printed in the *Daily People*, October 28, 1905, at a time of the great general strike wave of the Russian workers, which culminated in an armed uprising, DeLeon wrote that—

> ". . . the titanic struggle of the masses of Russia against the autocracy of Czarism has, . . . entered upon a stage fraught with danger for the aspirations of humanity that the revolution is uttering. The danger in this instance does not arise from the mere clumsiness of the 'general strike' as a weapon. The 'general strike' starts from the premise that the machinery of production, together with all the rest of the wealth of the land, stored foodstuffs included, is the rightful property of the present possessors; the 'general strike' cannot, accordingly, nor does it aim at aught but better conditions. Proceeding from such false premises, the 'general strike' ever gives the lie to the revolutionary aspirations that underlie it. It can only aim at a composition, at a compromise. As a weapon of the social revolution the 'general strike' is accordingly a clumsy weapon. The weapon of the social revolution is not the 'general strike' but the 'general lockout' of the capitalist or usurping class. . . . For the wielding of this weapon, however, only such an organization will stead as the Industrial Workers of the World. . . ." (*Russia in Revolution*, pp. 25-26.)

DeLeon failed to see in the general strike a political instrument of the working class. He could see in it only a method of economic struggle as advocated by the anarchists. History has proved, particularly the 1905 and the October Russian Revolutions, that although the general strike has its limitations (in order to be applied success-

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fully it must be used at a time of a revolutionary upsurge of the working class, at a time when the rule of the bourgeoisie is shaken, as a prelude to an armed uprising of the masses against the old order), it is "an admirable training school for the proletarian revolution, and an invaluable means for mobilizing and organizing the proletarian masses on the eve of the attempt to storm the capitalist fortress" (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 91).

In a period of imperialism, to propagate for a proletarian revolution without carrying on propaganda and preparation for the mass political strike and for an armed insurrection in the fight for power, means to disarm the workers in the face of the attack of the bourgeoisie.

DeLeon's conception of the proletarian revolution was the same, as far as the deception of the American proletariat goes, as that of the reformists of the Second International, in spite of his revolutionary phrases. Lenin, in his *State and Revolution*, makes a classical formulation about Kautsky's position on this point, which can fittingly apply to DeLeon. Lenin states:

> "The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses this and just this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx' and Engels' teachings. The neglect of such propaganda and agitation by both the present predominant social-chauvinists and Kautskyist currents brings their betrayal . . . into prominent relief." (P. 20, International Ed.)

The question of a violent revolution lies at the root of Marx's teachings. Only philistines or downright opportunists can talk about revolution without violence.

THE STATE AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

This confusion, this wavering between a Menshevist and an anarcho-syndicalist viewpoint, arose out of his failure to understand the class nature of the State and the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. DeLeon failed to understand that the State, as such, existed before the advent of capitalism, that it has always been (as long as classes have existed) and is "the organ of class domination, the organ of the suppression of one class by another" (Lenin).

> "The State", wrote Engels in his *Origin of the Family*, "in no way constitutes a force imposed upon society from the outside—the State is tantamount to an acknowledgment that the given society has become entangled in insoluble antagonisms, of which it is powerless to rid itself. And in order that these antagonisms, these classes with their opposing economic intererts, may not devour one another and society itself in their sterile struggle, some force, standing, seemingly, above society, becomes necessary so as to moderate the force of

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> their collisions and to keep them within bounds of 'order'. And this force arising from society, but placing itself above it, which gradually separates itself from it—this force is the State."

But DeLeon's conception of the State is different from the above Marxian definition. DeLeon did not consider the State to be an organ of suppression of one class by another; he thought that the State assumes these oppressive functions only at a high point of capitalist development; till then the State is only "the Central Directing Authority", "aiding and directing production".

> "When, in short,"—states DeLeon in his *Reform and Revolution*—"the privately owned tool has wrought this work (development of productive forces) and the classes—the idle rich and the working poor—are in full bloom—then the Central Directing Authority of old stands transformed; its pristine functions of aiding in, by directing production have been supplanted by . . . holding down the dependent slave, the ruled, *i.e.*, the working class. *Then and not before,* lo, the State, the modern State, the capitalist State! Then, lo, the government, the modern government, the capitalist government—equipped mainly if not solely, with the means of suppression, of oppression, of tyranny!" (P. 6—My emphasis.)

Starting from this viewpoint, which is akin to anarchism, DeLeon's denial of the need of the transition period between the capitalist and the socialist societies was but a logical conclusion. Since the main task of the State was to perfect the tools of production, and since capitalism has achieved this, according to DeLeon, then the State is no longer needed by the working class after its overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Abolish the State and you have socialism, so reasoned DeLeon and his followers.

Some comrades are of the opinion that in DeLeon's later years there was a marked approach on his part to the Marxist viewpoint on the State. But this is incorrect. The older DeLeon became, the more confused he became on this question. If we take one of his last works, *Industrial Unionism*, which was first published in January 1913, we shall see his fully developed views on the State. In this work he stated:

> "It was within the shell of the political State that the tool of machinery of production was perfected, production itself was organized; co-operative labor brought about and thanks to abundance thus rendered potential, lift from the shoulders of man the primal cause of brute's arduous toil for bare existence. *This to accomplish being the ethnic-sociological mission of the political State*, the arrival of the human race at this stage—the stage that our generation has reached—with abundance for all is possible without arduous toil for any, is the trumpet blast announcement that *the shell of the political State is no longer needed*, and should be broken through and cast off." (My emphasis.)

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No anarchist would disagree here with DeLeon. The starting point of the anarchists is their denial of the necessity of the State for the proletariat after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—a State—which is the proletariat organized as a ruling class—is that to them the State is a force imposed upon society from without (the cause of the division of society into classes), and that with its abolition classes will also be abolished.

DeLeon differs with the anarchists insofar as he, unlike the anarchists, did have an idea as to what to put in the place of the former State. Here he had a syndicalist viewpoint. His theory was that the proletariat, organized into industrial unions, would "pronounce itself the government". To DeLeon, there is no need after the revolution for a political organization of the working class as the task of the "political movement is purely destructive". "The working class political organization," he holds, "can give no help in the act of taking and holding the nation's plants of production . . . this is the task of the industrial organization of the working class." (*Socialist Reconstruction of Society.*) Raisky, in his article published in the September, 1930, issue of *The Communist,* stated that DeLeon, before Lenin, anticipated the Soviet form of organization of the working class after it had come into power.

But it must be emphatically stated here that DeLeon's conception of industrial union government has nothing in common with the Soviet form of government, which must not only embrace the workers organized in trade unions but also must include the broad toiling masses. Lenin, in answer to Trotsky, at a Party fraction meeting of the Eighth Congress of the Soviets, stated that during the transition to socialism a dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be operated by 100 per cent organizations of the workers, that "these functions have to be performed through a number of special institutions of an entirely new type, namely through the Soviet apparatus" (Lenin, *Works,* Vol. XVIII, Russian Edition).

DeLeon believed that all, or at least a majority, of the workers could be organized into unions under capitalism, and that when this was achieved, the revolution would be accomplished. In his *Fifteen Questions,* page 99, DeLeon states that the working class is "actually in possession" of the industries but that the "ownership, however, lingers with the bourgeoisie by reason of continued imperfection of the industrial organization". "The day that the industrial organization shall have reached the minimum of perfection needed, that day the scales will tip; ownership will be coupled with the existing fact of possession, and the Cooperative Commonwealth will be the master." This idea of a "minimum of perfection" DeLeon explains in his *Socialist Reconstruction of Society* to mean "the complete industrial organization of the Working Class [which] will then

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have insured the peaceful issue of the struggle" (p. 45). This theory, like the theory of a "cooperative commonwealth", is pure utopia. Comrade Foster correctly characterized DeLeon as a "sophist and a utopian" (*Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement*, p. 26). No revolutionist believes that under capitalism the trade unions can embrace the majority of the working class, even in the most advanced countries. Capitalism divides the working class and corrupts a section of it, thus keeping the workers organized to a minimum. Lenin, in his *One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward*, written in 1903, stated:

> "No reasonable socialist has ever believed that, under capitalism, even trade unions, more primitive organizations and more accessible to the backward strata of the working class, can succeed in enrolling all or nearly all the members of the working class."

History has taught all who wish to learn, that no ruling class has ever given up its power without a stubborn struggle; it fights most bitterly in the hope of retaining its former privileges. Especially do the proletarian revolutions prove this. The class struggle becomes most sharp, immediately after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but not according to DeLeon. History has taught him little. Taking the false position that the American bourgeoisie had no feudal traditions, he concluded that it would therefore not fight. He considered the American bourgeoisie as swindlers. "Now then, the swindler is a coward. Like a coward, he will play the bully, as we see the Capitalist Class doing, towards the weak, the weak because disorganized, Working Class. Before the strong, the bully crawls, let the political temperature rise to the point of danger, then, all monkeying with the thermometer not withstanding, your capitalist will quake in his stolen boots; he will not dare to fight, he will flee." (*Socialist Reconstruction of Society*, p. 45.)

But the history of revolutions proves otherwise. The history of the Paris Commune; the 1905 and October, 1917, Russian revolutions have shown that it is not possible to overthrow the bourgeoisie in such a simple way as DeLeon reasoned.

> "The overthrow of the capitalist class is feasible only by the transformation of the proletariat into the *ruling class* able to crush the inevitable resistance of the bourgeoisie and to organize for the new settlement of the economic order *all* the toiling and exploited masses." (Lenin, *State and Revolution.*)

The defeat of the bourgeoisie does not mean their destruction. After their overthrow they become much bitterer, throwing themselves in the battle, with greater force, in the hope of regaining

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their former positions. After the October Revolution, Lenin, in drawing lessons from it for the international proletariat stated:

> "The exploiters have been defeated but not destroyed. They still retain an international base, international capital of which they are a branch. They retain some of the means of production, as well as money, and extensive social connections. Their very resistance has grown precisely in consequence of their defeat, hundreds and thousands of times. . . . The class struggle of the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, that is, against the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter and this could not have been otherwise if we speak of revolution, *if we do not supplant this conception (as the heroes of the Second International do) by reformist illusions.*" (*Economics and Politics During the Epoch of Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*—My emphasis—W.B.)

Let us for the time being travel further with DeLeon into his utopian realm of a "peaceful solution of the social question", into his Cooperative Commonwealth and see how this "disciple of Marx" as the S.L.P.'ites style him, would solve the question of class relationship. Here we must burden the reader with another long quotation in order to have DeLeon give an answer to this question in his own words.

> "With all his iniquities, the bourgeois is entitled to a merciful treatment that the pending Social Revolution has in store for him. He is entitled to it because it is he who cleared the way for the redemptory revolution of Socialism.
>
> "Socialism being the highest expression of *morality and justice*, the taking of capital and thereby the emancipating of property from the shackles of private ownership, can be accomplished without inflicting upon the present ruling class the social penalty that previous class revolutions have inflicted upon the class that they overthrew. With all previous class revolutions, though the oppressed freed themselves, *they did not establish freedom.* The conquering class, in turn, became an oppressor, the previous oppressor being placed under the yoke. *The Socialist Revolution will be free, must be free, from the stain.* The law of its being leaves it no other choice. Seeing that Socialism abolishes, not simply the class rule of the present ruling class, but class rule itself, the conquered capitalist class will not be yoked: He will be raised, along with the rest of the population, to peership with all others of a Commonwealth where his existence will be safeguarded, the same as the existence of all others, under the only condition that he sponge not, but do his share in the cooperative work. The 'right to vote' in the Cooperative Commonwealth is accompanied with the supplementary right to live a civilized life, that is, a life of economic freedom." (*Fifteen Questions*, pp. 97-99—My emphasis—W.B.)

Only a muddleheaded utopian, filled with petty-bourgeois ideas about "morality", "freedom", and "justice", can utter such non-

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sense and call it socialism. And this was written not in the period of Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier, et al., but in 1913, after the experiences of the bourgeois democratic revolutions, the Paris Commune and the 1905 Russian Revolution. Yet some Communists today wish to characterize DeLeon as a revolutionary Marxist, to class DeLeon with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the *only real revolutionary Marxists*.

DeLeon failed to assimilate Marx's teachings on the State because the "substance of teachings of Marx about the State is assimilated only by one who understands that the dictatorship of one class is necessary not only for any class society generally, not only for the *Proletariat* which overthrows the bourgeoisie, but for a whole historical period, which separates capitalism from 'society without classes', from Communism." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*).

One of the favorite arguments of the defenders of DeLeon as a "Revolutionary Marxist" is that he recognized and carried on the class struggle. But this alone does not make one a Marxist. Lenin defines a Marxist in the following words:

> "One who recognizes the class war is not yet a Marxist: one may be found not yet freed himself from the chains of bourgeois reasoning and politics. To limit Marxist theory to the teaching of class war means to shorten Marxism—to mutilate it, to bring it down to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. A Marxist is one who *extends* the recognition of class war to the *recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat*." (State and Revolution.) (Original emphasis.)

Likewise does Comrade Stalin state in his *Leninism:*

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental meaning of the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, with its movement, its impetus and its achievements only becomes a reality through the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship is the chief fulcrum of the proletarian revolution."

The denial of the need of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of a forceful overthrow of the bourgeoisie, which is the main essence of Marxism, was the chief work of the revisionists of the Second International. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were the only ones that fought this revisionism, this "making Marxism acceptable to the bourgeoisie". They are the only ones who resuscitated Marx's teachings on this question from the garbage heap of the Second International.

Thus we see that although DeLeon had some revolutionary elements, in the main he presented a variety of opportunism covered with ultra-left phrases. After DeLeon's death, DeLeonism, which

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was embodied in the principles, tactics, theory and program of the Socialist Labor Party, continued its evolution further away from Marxism. In the period of the world war, DeLeonism developed into a variety of opportunism which helped to disarm the working class in its struggles against the immediate danger and objectively supported the policy of "defence of the fatherland" put forth by the Second International.

The S.L.P. did not come out against the imperialist war as such. It stated that the war was of no importance to the working class—its task was to "fight capitalism". Following DeLeon's doctrinaire tactics, the S.L.P. failed to see the main danger of the moment and continued to work in its old way, thereby helping the American capitalist class in mobilizing the workers into the world slaughter. The S.L.P. could not take the correct Marxist-Leninist stand on the war and point out to the working class, as Lenin and the Bolsheviks did, that the only way out of the imperialist war for the proletariat is through a revolution, through the Leninist way, the way of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. The opportunist position of the S.L.P. is but the logical development of DeLeonism.

When the October Revolution took place the revolutionary proletariat of the world hailed it with great enthusiasm, rallied to support it, and saw in it an example for all the workers to follow. The S.L.P. took an indifferent attitude, stating that the dictatorship of the proletariat might be all right for backward Russia but that the American proletariat had nothing to learn from it.

After the October Revolution, in the period when the best elements within the parties of the Second International, under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, split from the opportunism of their parties and the Second International, declaring themselves for the Third International, the S.L.P. was not among these advanced revolutionary workers. It split organizationally with the Second International, but stayed aloof from the Third International, heaping abuse and ridiculing the 21 points of admission to the Comintern.

This position of the S.L.P. exposed it as an ally of the Second International. As a result, large sections of the rank-and-file membership of the S.L.P. split and joined the newly formed Communist Party.

Raisky, in his latest contribution on DeLeon, uses this fact in an attempt to prove that DeLeon, if he had lived, would have undoubtedly joined this movement from the S.L.P. to the Comintern. But Raisky forgets the fact, or fails to see it, that this split in the S.L.P. occurred, not at the top, but below, not among the leadership (Boris Reinstein was among the very few in the leadership to

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join with the Communists), but among the rank-and-file members and lower functionaries who instinctively saw in DeLeon (especially when they had the experience of the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head to guide them) a theory that was alien to the interests of the working class. The leadership of the party stood, on the whole, by DeLeonism, against Leninism.

The Second Congress of the Comintern was correct when in its "Letter to the American Comrades", it stated: "a complete rupture with the past and the socialist parties (S.P. and S.L.P.) is, of course, the essential condition for the formation of a Communist Party in America." To think that DeLeon would have broken with DeLeonism is to leave the ground of Marxist reasoning and enter into fantasy.

The present S.L.P. is the follower, idealizer, and executor of DeLeon's teachings. DeLeonism, like all other theories opposed to Marxism, is anti-working class and reactionary, DeLeonism today is a logical development of DeLeon's teachings in the period when the Russian Bolsheviks, following consistently Marx's teachings, enriched and developed by Lenin, have led the working class and the toiling masses of Russia in overthrowing their capitalists and landlords, have established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are successfully building Socialism.

But Raisky disagrees with the above formulation. He thinks that the tactics of the present leaders of the S.L.P. are a caricature of DeLeon. He states that: "The present leaders of the Socialist Labor Party have turned DeLeon's tactics into a caricature". (Foreword to the Russian translation of DeLeon's works, p. 12.)

Here Raisky makes a scholastic and artificial separation of DeLeon from DeLeonism. Such a separation cannot but play into the hands of the present DeLeonists and hinder the struggle against the social-fascist leadership of the S.L.P.

The task of our Party is to increase its fire against all social-fascist organizations on the basis of the united front of the rank-and-file membership of these organizations in the struggle for the daily needs of the workers, exposing the leaders as betrayers of the working class.

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